Using Experiments to Improve Progressive Hispanic Voter Registration

July 2010

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Executive Summary

This was an ambitious project. By bringing together leading organizations from different areas of the progressive movement, The Atlantic Philanthropies sought to address a gaping need for progressives: how can we be more effective at progressive Hispanic voter registration? With over 12 randomized controlled experiments, across different modes of voter registration, this research project has yielded several useful results, and quite a few unexpected ones. Many of these results involved collaborations between the groups involved in this project: *Campaign for Community Change, Democracia Ahora, Rock The Vote Action Fund, and Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund.* This spirit of cooperation was critical to the success of this project, as each group contributed its own unique strengths and expertise to the broad portfolio of projects.

Motivation and Background

Hispanics occupy a unique space in American politics. The demographic data tells us that they are the fastest growing ethnic group, yet the political data tells us that they are the most underrepresented among registered voters. This gap between Hispanic population and Hispanic voting represents a challenge for progressives, both because progressives support equal representation and because Hispanics are increasingly important to progressive victories at the ballot box. The challenges and opportunities for engaging Hispanics in voting are complicated by the fact that Hispanics are far from uniformly progressive in the political issues and candidates that they support.[1]

Progressives cannot afford to ignore the Hispanic voting gap. Engaging the Hispanic community at the level of voter registration is the first step towards improving turnout and winning elections. This research uses randomized controlled experiments to learn through specific and tractable research questions what best practices progressives can use to increase the effectiveness of Hispanic voter registration.

The work described in this report took the expertise and experience of organizations with proven track records registering Hispanics, and combined it with the most rigorous methods for evaluating the effectiveness of tactics and strategies. The goal of this project is not to simply maximize progressive Hispanic registrations. The goal is to help progressives become more effective moving into the midterm elections, and beyond.

[1] Democracia Ahora recently commissioned research from Bendixen & Amandi focusing on young Hispanics, finding that among this new generation of Hispanic voters 30% identify as progressive, 13% as moderate, 12% as conservative, and 45% with no political ideology. Conservative identification is even stronger among older Hispanics.

Actionable Findings

Mail

- Procedures for improving data quality are always important, especially so for Hispanics
- A neutral exterior worked best
- A neutral interior message worked best
- Automated calls were as effective as live calls for pre-treatments

Email

- Neutral messaging worked best for emailing people who already have a relationship with an organization
- No tested email message was effective when targeting individuals who did not have a prior relationship with the sending organization

Web-Based

- Neutral messaging, unlike with direct mail and email, was *not* the most effective messaging for banner ads
- Celebrity endorsed banner ads worked best, and the specific details mattered. For this test, appealing to Hispanic identity increased clickthroughs relative to appealing to American identity, especially when a Hispanic celebrity was a part of the banner ad

Site-Based

- C(4) messaging created more net Democratic registrations per hour
- C(4) messaging did not create more net progressive registrations per hour

Canvass

- Area focused canvass is much more efficient than individual focused canvass
- Mail and canvass complemented each other; this finding is in addition to previous experimental results showing that multi-sourced mail can be highly cost effective on its own.

Context

These research projects were conducted in April and May of 2010. The spring before the 2010 midterm election was a low-salience election environment. Simply put, politics and elections were not what most people were thinking about during this timeframe. For this reason, absolute registration rates were much lower than they would normally be in the run-up to an actual election (and, if one were to calculate it, cost per registration would also be much higher). This is not a fatal limitation, however, since the

experimental method allows us to isolate different tactics and strategies for comparison to each other, holding all else constant.

The low-salience context limits the ability to analyze net registrations, which are also referred to as impactful registrations. These are registrations that would not have occurred without the specific outreach in this report. In part this is because the low amount of election activity during this context makes it unusually likely that the registrations gathered would not have occurred otherwise. Additionally, net registrations cannot be evaluated until after an election has occurred. Because one of the goals of this project was to develop actionable insights for this year's elections, the timeline prevented an analysis of net registrations.

In order for generalizable insights to be drawn in a low-salience political environment, it is necessary to ask specific and tractable research questions that could be practically addressed. There are many important questions—most of the important ones, in fact—that are not addressed in this report because they were not specific, affordable, and/or tractable. A few brief examples of questions that could not be addressed in the scope of this report include:

- Do Hispanics of different national origin respond differently to the same kind of outreach and messaging?
- What is the best television advertising and messaging strategy for encouraging Hispanics to engage in the political process?

When evaluating what works in this report, it is important to take away comparative lessons rather than absolute ones. We can learn what communication strategies work better relative to others for a given mode, but it would not be fair to compare the absolute cost effectiveness across modes of outreach. Similarly, it is not reasonable to compare the effectiveness of these strategies, conducted during this low salience time period, with results from a higher-salience election environment like the fall of 2008. Furthermore, this report generally does not address cost per registration. We believe that evaluating and comparing costs in this way, absent the high volume of activity and increased political awareness of intense election campaigns, would be of less value than evaluating and comparing practical effectiveness.

Progressivity

Even more so than more traditional progressive base groups, Hispanics are diverse in their political ideology and voting habits. 23% of Hispanics in a recent poll identified themselves as conservatives, and 18% reported not having a political ideology.[2] If one were interested in increasing progressive voting—one of the long-term goals of this

[2] NDN 21st Century America Project National Poll, March 2010

research—one could likely do better than targeting all Hispanics with a blanket approach. It would instead be preferable to use a method of identifying progressive Hispanics, and then engage in registration activities that were especially effective at reaching them.

Progressivity is not a simple concept. Developing the best way to measure progressivity could be an entire research project on its own. These projects tested several different methods for measuring progressivity among Hispanics. Significant improvement was made in terms of understanding how progressivity can be measured when doing voter registration work. However, more needs to be done before a standardized and comprehensive analysis of progressivity can be achieved.

Approaches to measuring progressivity in this research include:

- Model an individual's likelihood of holding a set of issue positions, and target those who are above a certain score on the model. This approach is used in direct mail, and could be easily applied to email.
- Use advertising data and keywords to target ads on websites likely to be viewed by progressives. This approach is used for online advertising.
- Conduct a phone survey of people registered in the field that asks their opinions on progressive issue questions. This approach is costly, but could be applied to most outreach. It was used in the analysis of the site-based project.
- Target outreach for low-income Hispanic areas, where individuals are likely to be more progressive. This approach is best used for canvassing.

Modeling and phone surveys attempt to determine progressivity for specific individuals, while advertisement and canvass targeting attempts to determine more broadly what groups of people are likely to be progressive. In other words, the best approach for defining progressivity depends on the type of voter registration outreach.

In part because the concept of progressivity is multi-faceted, measuring progressivity does not always fit neatly into the following experimental research designs. For these projects progressivity was a specific, measurable outcome only for the site-based experiment. However many of the non-experimental outcomes of this research, including direct mail modeling and online advertising targeting, resulted in an improved capacity to target voter registration programs to progressive Hispanics. For example, Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund demonstrated that their issues model can effectively target those Hispanics who hold progressive views on issues and candidates.

Results

	Common Research Questions				
	Neutral vs. not	Identity appeal	Social norms	Celebrity	Culturally informed
Mail 1: Direct Mail Messaging for Movers	X	X	X		X
Mail 2: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for RAE Movers					
Mail 3: Mail Messaging for Unregistered Hispanics	X	X	X		X
Mail 4: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for Unregistered Hispanics					
Email 1: Social Norms Messaging for Movers from an Organization with Which Mover Has a Prior Relationship	X		X		
Email 2: Cultural Identity Messaging for Movers from an Organization with Which Mover Has a Prior Relationship	X	X		X	
Email 3: Email Messaging for Movers Without a Prior Relationship	X	X	X	X	
Email 4: Email Messaging for Unregistered Individuals	X	X	X	X	
Banner Ad 1: Social Norms Banner Ad Messaging	X		X		
Banner Ad 2: Cultural Identity Banner Ad Messaging	X	X		X	
Site-Based 1: C(3) vs. C(4) Messaging					
Canvass and Mail 1: Are Canvass and Mail Complentary?					

There are two types of lessons learned. First, there are the discrete mode-specific lessons. Second, there are integrative, cross-mode lessons.

Mode-Specific Results

Direct Mail

Example of Neutral Treatment

The most significant takeaway across four categories of direct mail experiments is that mail proved an effective registration device for Hispanics. Specifically, neutral voter registration forms work best for registering Hispanics who have no previous relationship with the sending organization. Neutral-sounding senders were also more effective than specific organizations acting as senders. These findings are

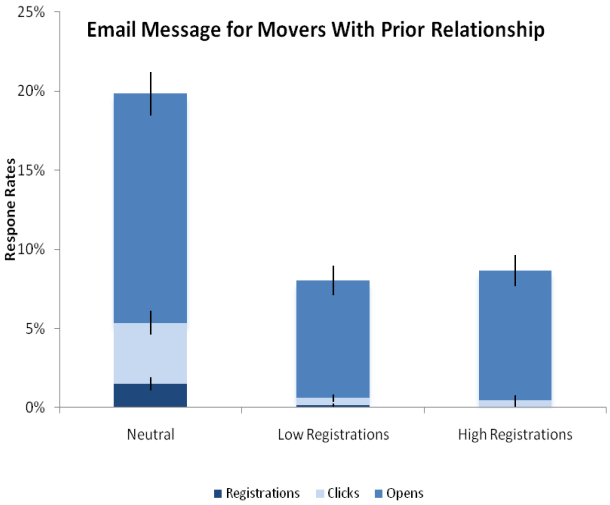
consistent with previous research conducted by Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF) and Rock the Vote (RTV) studying different populations of the Rising American Electorate (RAE). (The RAE is defined as people of color, unmarried women, and citizens who can vote under the age of 30.) These findings proved true for Hispanics who have moved from their previous registration address, as well as for non-registered Hispanics. Neutral appearances outperformed a wide array of other messaging themes, including behavioral science levers like social norms messaging, as well as culturally targeted messaging about Hispanic identity and immigration reform.

WVWVAF compared two types of registration targeting. The first type is re-registering Hispanics who have moved from their previous registration address, specifically examining varying lengths of time since moving. Targeting these "movers" was compared to registering non-registered Hispanics, who are identified through databases of individuals in the Voting Age Population (VAP). WVWVAF found that it is significantly more effective to re-register a Hispanic mover, even if they moved more than 16 months ago, than it is to register a non-registered Hispanic using VAP data. These findings refined WVWVAF's best practices for the efficient use of resources when registering Hispanics.

Another substantial value derived from this project was that WVWVAF was able to use this data to develop a 2010 mail registration responsiveness model that outperforms their 2008 model. Because of the Hispanic focus of this project, their model will allow them to be especially effective at targeting Hispanic voters for direct mail registration. This model is available from WVWVAF for use among the progressive community. Finally, the results of the various targeting experiments involved in this project reinforced WVWVAF's strategy that non-registered voters who appear on only one of multiple possible lists of non-registered voters are not effective targets. Incorporating this insight about the relationship between sources of targeting data and responsiveness would significantly increase efficiency when other groups mail non-registered voters.

Email

There were two related key takeaways from the four email-based experiments. First, registration encouragement emails sent to citizens who did not have a pre-existing relationship with the sender did not work, regardless of whether the target was a recent mover or non-registered. The second related insight was that having a prior relationship with a targeted citizen made email based registration appeals



more effective, especially for neutral emails. The finding that a prior relationship was necessary for an email communication to have an impact is consistent with research that Rock The Vote conducted in New Jersey in 2009.[3] Furthermore, the effectiveness of the neutral-looking email to re-register young Hispanic voters is consistent with prior re-registration direct mail and email tests conducted by Rock the Vote to a general audience.

Banner Ads

Several lessons were learned from the banner ad experiments. First, the inclusion of a celebrity—in this case Cuban-American musician Pitbull—dramatically increased registration clickthroughs. Second, on websites trafficked by Hispanic citizens, Hispanic identity appeals were more effective at increasing clickthroughs than American identity appeals. And third, the celebrity effect amplified the impact of Hispanic identity appeals relative to American identity appeals. While it is not clear whether or not the celebrity effect is Pitbull-specific, the finding underscores the value of pilot testing new ideas, as well as the use of relevant celebrities in Hispanic voter registration efforts.

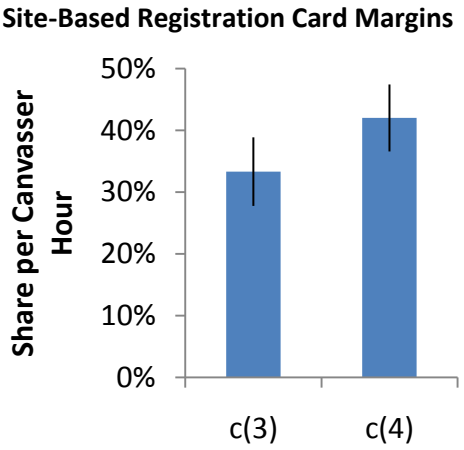
Example of Celebrity Banner Ad

Additionally, online banner advertising to drive registrations is a relatively new activity. Lessons were learned about how to best execute these programs that will help refine strategies in the future. These include insights into targeting by demographics, geography, and progressive values, as well as the sizing of ads for various websites, when to use cost-per-click pricing (CPC) versus cost-per-impression pricing (CPM), what platforms generate the most clickthroughs, and which messaging is most effective. None of these operational insights are definitive, but they will make future efforts more effective. For example, during the implementation of the research it was learned that some banner ad platforms are better suited for experimental hypothesis testing than others at this point in time. The insights drawn from this initial project provide a foundation for further testing about how best to register young, progressive Hispanic voters in this relatively new and potentially fertile online advertising space.

[3] That research showed that GOTV text messages to citizens who registered through Rock the Vote in 2008 significantly increased turnout, but only if they came from Rock the Vote.

Site-based

The main takeaway from the site-based experiment is that strong C(4) messaging in Hispanic communities generates more net Democratic registrations. However, there was no difference between C(4) and C(3) messaging in terms of progressivity, as measured by our survey instrument.



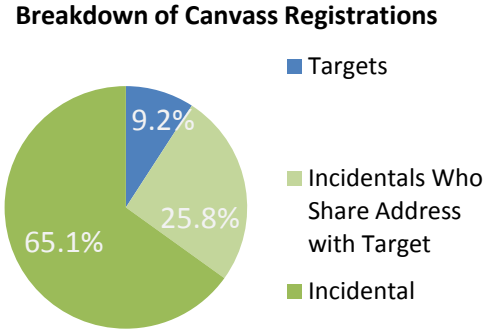
Specifically, the experiment found that C(4) messaging generated more registrations per hour than C(3) messaging, and a greater likelihood that those registered were Democratic. On a per canvasser-hour basis, C(4) messaging generated a 27% (or 9 percentage points) greater Democratic advantage than C(3) messaging. For every C(3) canvasser hour a 0.33 Democratic registration card advantage was generated, whereas for every C(4) canvasser hour a 0.42 Democratic registration card advantage was generated.

Canvass and Mail (combined)

There are two main takeaways from the canvass and mail experiment. First, a neighborhood or precinct-based canvass is more effective at generating marginal registrations, because individual-level data on unregistered Hispanics is at present lacking coverage in certain respects. Second, despite the current limitations of individual data, the two modes have a complementary effect. Supplementing canvass with voter registration mail within the limited geography of the canvass does significantly improve the registration rate among those reached by both modes.

When targeting these non-registered Hispanics for canvass a majority of the registrations collected came from individuals not on the original target list (i.e., "incidental" registrations). The findings taken together tentatively suggest that canvassing does reach a different *overall* population than targeted mail would reach, but among a narrower population of individual identifiable targets mail has a significant complementary effect.

There are multiple possible strategies for implementing a canvass of non-registered Hispanics. One strategy is to acquire a list of non-registered individuals from a data source, and go to each individual address. That was



the strategy used in this experiment, and it proved to be relatively inefficient at registering the original targets. We believe a limitation in data is a significant reason for the inefficient outreach to individual targets. Yet even the best political data providers are somewhat limited in their ability to identify non-registered Hispanics.[4]

An alternative strategy for implementing a canvass would be to combine local field expertise with available data to identify precincts where there are likely to be many eligible non-registered Hispanics. Skilled canvassers would go to those precincts, relying on training to register as many eligible non-registered people as possible. Based on the high frequency of incidental field registrations in this experiment, it may be more effective to implement and evaluate canvass programs using a variation of this second approach—by geographic levels like precincts or census tracks—rather than the first individual-level approach.

The high volume of incidental voter registrations produced by the canvass program highlights the need for additional Hispanic canvass research. In particular, the importance of on-the-ground organizer knowledge and cultural competency in Hispanic field canvass operations should be further explored.

Macro Lessons

There were two principal integrative lessons across these experiments. The first has to do with when neutral-looking communications will dominate all other modes of communication, and when they will not. In the email and direct mail voter registration experiments, neutral messaging was found to dominate all other messaging. This is consistent with past research as well. A variety of other types of messaging have been compared to neutral messaging in these contexts, including identity appeals, social norms, celebrity endorsements, and culturally informed messaging, and were not found to be more effective.

Yet in the banner ad experiments, the banner ad message that most closely resembled a neutral message was the generic ad, and it under-performed identity and celebrity messaging. How is it possible that neutral messaging is so consistently potent for some modes, and yet appears relatively ineffective in others? We believe that the following explanation is the most parsimonious. When delivery of a communication requires active, individual-level targeting people may be resistant to messages that feel uninvited (i.e., spam). At the same time people may be relatively more receptive to messages that seem like they could be coming from a neutral source (i.e., government or other disinterested communicators). On the other hand, when delivery of a communication is

[4] The reasons for gaps in individual-level data on non-registered Hispanics are covered in more detail later in the report. Two of the widely accepted reasons are A) Hispanics move frequently, and B) a non-trivial number of Hispanics are ineligible to vote. Data providers in the progressive community are currently devoting significant resources to improving their coverage of Hispanics.

passive, and seems broadcasted, it is difficult to capture the limited attention of a target. In this more passive context compelling messages and messengers may be especially effective (i.e., eye-catching communications, celebrity images, flash and video content). This would also imply that messages that are relatively dull and staid are less likely to be noticed (i.e., neutral-looking messaging).

One might call this the "mode and attention" interpretation. It can explain why direct mail and email with neutral appearances dominated celebrity and behavioral science informed messaging, while the opposite was true for banner ads. It would predict that ads on buses, billboards, and newspapers, as well as site-based messaging, would benefit from compelling, non-neutral messaging. Further, it might also predict that canvassing messaging may benefit from appearing to be neutral.

The second lesson from this research is with regards to the insights from behavioral science about how to motivate behavior. Across experiments we found inconsistent results. We found that for banner ads Hispanic identity appeals dominated American identity appeals, but for emails we found no difference between the two appeals, and for direct mail we found that Hispanic identity appeals did not increase responsiveness. We found that emphasizing that lots of others are registering to vote resulted in fewer banner ad clickthroughs than emphasizing that few others are registering (the opposite of findings from other domains), while it resulted in erratic effects for email. The fact that these findings are inconsistent illustrates exactly why experimental testing is so important: we should not take for granted that something discovered in one domain is necessarily true in another. It is experiments like those conducted in this project, and the work of groups like those who invested so much in conducting them, that help us become ever more effective over time.

Introduction

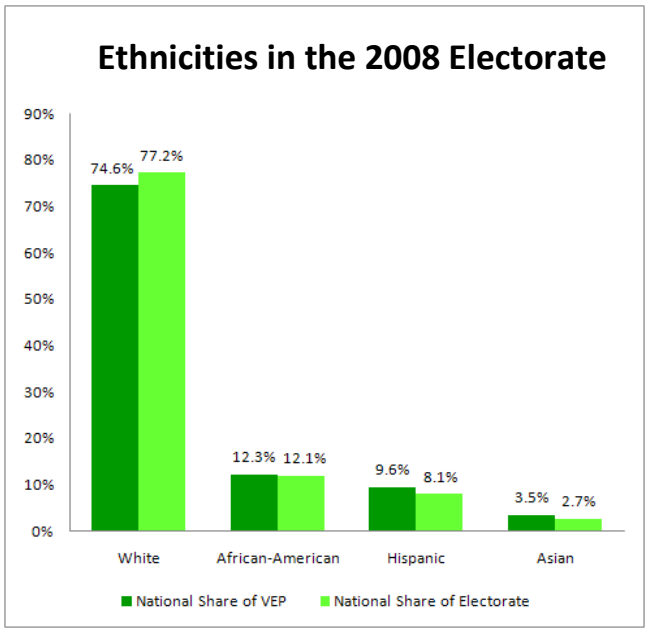
The following report attempts to leverage the methods, tools, and insights of randomized controlled experiments to learn about Hispanic voter registration. Hispanics are an increasingly important part of the American electorate, and the research in this report is an early step toward making progressive Hispanic voter registration efforts more effective.

Background

Hispanics occupy a unique space in American politics. The demographic data tells us that they are the fastest growing ethnic group, yet the political data tells us that they are the most underrepresented among registered voters. This gap between Hispanic population and Hispanic voting represents a challenge for progressives, both because progressives support equal representation and because Hispanics are increasingly important to progressive victories at the ballot box. The challenges and opportunities for engaging Hispanics in voting are complicated by the fact that Hispanics are far from uniformly progressive in the political issues and candidates that they support.

Yet despite the obvious challenges, Hispanic voter registration also represents a tremendous opportunity. Between natural population growth and the narrowing of the voting gap, there are real opportunities for progressive engagement with Hispanics to change the political landscape in the U.S., both today and for years to come.

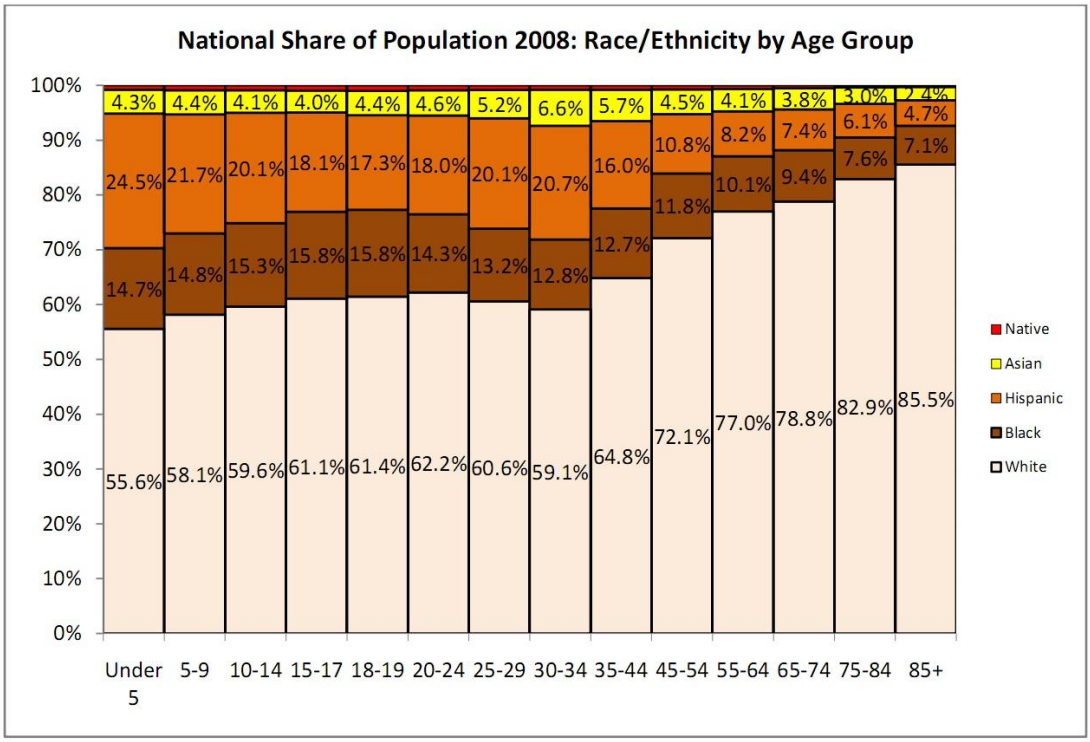
Hispanics are not fairly represented in the electorate. Despite making up 9.6% of the voting eligible population (VEP), Hispanics made up only 8.1% of the 2008 electorate. This voting gap of 1.5% is the largest of any ethnic group. In other words, the number of Hispanics who do vote is significantly lagging behind the number of Hispanics who can vote.



Source: New Organizing Institute, "Voter Registration Analysis," Jan. 2010

The Hispanic voting gap is an especially pressing concern because the country is only beginning to feel the impact of a wave of voting-age Hispanics. Hispanic population growth is

faster than any other ethnic group, and it is concentrated in youth. As can be seen in the following graph, young Americans are significantly more Hispanic than older Americans.



Source: New Organizing Institute, "Emerging Political Trends", 2009

The American electorate is in the midst of a dramatic shift towards Hispanics, but the impact of this shift has yet to be fully felt. The greatest growth in the Hispanic portion of the population is under the age of 18. Estimates based on U.S. Census growth projections indicate that 500,000 Hispanics will become eligible to vote every year for the next twenty. Narrowing the voting gap means registering more currently eligible Hispanics, but it also means registering these new potential voters every election cycle.

Increasing Hispanic voter registrations is an important goal in its own right, but registrations must also be translated into progressive victories at the ballot box. Hispanics are a major strategic battleground for presidential elections. On the national level, Democratic candidates tend to do well when Hispanics approach 70%

Election Year	Democratic Share of Two-Party Hispanic Vote	Eligible Hispanic Voter Turnout
1992	71%	52%
1996	77%	44%
2000	65%	45%
2004	62%	47%
2008	68%	50%

Source: 2010 Almanac of Latino Politics & U.S. Census

Democratic support and about 50% of eligible Hispanics turnout. When turnout and Democratic support drops only slightly, Republican candidates have done well. In other words, losing just a few percentage points of Hispanic support can be a very bad sign for progressive candidates at the national level.

While Hispanics trend towards progressive voting habits, there are opportunities for that trend to be further solidified. Hispanics do not vote with the same degree of consistency as other components of the progressive base. A recent study found that 59% of Hispanics identify as Democrats and 23% identify as Republicans.[5] The fact that Barack Obama won 68% of the Hispanic vote in 2008 suggests that successful progressive outreach to and engagement with the Hispanic community can substantially exceed the percentage already identifying with Democrats and progressive causes.

Developing a stronger progressive relationship with the Hispanic community is especially important because of the critical role Hispanics will continue to play on the electoral map. From 2000 to 2008 Hispanic voters grew by 4 million, and these new voters are not evenly dispersed across the nation. 91% of the Hispanic population resides in 16 states. In 2008, Barack Obama won 14 of those 16, comprising 254 of the 270 electoral votes necessary for victory. As the following table shows, the two Hispanic-heavy states he did not win—Arizona and Texas—have substantial Hispanic electorates and were within Obama's reach.

	Electoral Votes	Hispanic % of 2008 Electorate	Obama Margin	Obama Margin Among Hispanics
California	55	18%	24%	51%
Texas	34	20%	-12%	28%
New York	31	6%	26%	NA
Florida	27	14%	3%	15%
Pennsylvania	21	4%	10%	44%
Illinois	21	7%	25%	45%
Ohio	20	4%	4%	NA
Michigan	17	3%	17%	31%
New Jersey	15	9%	15%	57%
Massachusetts	12	6%	26%	NA
Washington	11	7%	17%	NA
Arizona	10	16%	-9%	15%
Colorado	9	13%	9%	23%
Connecticut	7	8%	22%	NA
New Mexico	5	41%	15%	39%
Nevada	5	15%	12%	54%

[5] NDN 21st Century America Project National Poll, March 2010

Winning all of the states listed above would secure the presidential electoral map by a comfortable margin. Hispanics are also influential in elections for many of the seats in Congress. 26 congressional districts are majority Hispanic, and an additional 73 are at least one-fifth Hispanic.[6] Put another way, the Hispanic electorate can significantly influence races for almost a quarter of Congress.

Hispanics are already an important part of the American electorate, despite being unrepresented in the voting population. Demographic trends make it abundantly clear that Hispanics will only become more important. The opportunity for progressives is evident, but a lot of work still needs to be done.

Motivation

Progressives cannot afford to ignore the Hispanic voting gap. Engaging the Hispanic community at the level of voter registration is the first step towards improving turnout and winning elections. This research uses randomized controlled experiments to learn through specific and tractable research questions what best practices progressives can use to increase the effectiveness of Hispanic voter registration efforts.

There is a need for more research that is both Hispanic-focused and experiment-informed in the progressive community. The major strategic opportunity Hispanics represent for the foreseeable future underscores the importance of more effective—and more serious—progressive engagement.

This research takes the expertise and experience of organizations with proven track records registering Hispanics, and combines it with the leading methods for evaluating the effectiveness of tactics and strategies. The goal of this project is not to simply maximize registrations. Rather, the goal is to use what is learned to help progressives become more effective moving into the midterm elections, and beyond.

[6] The United States Hispanic Leadership Institute, *2010 Almanac of Latino Politics*. According to the Cook political report on June 24th, 2010, 5 of the 26 majority Hispanic districts are considered "in play", as well as 11 of the 73 that are at least 20% Hispanic. The 26 majority Hispanic districts are represented by 23 Democrats and 3 Republicans. The 73 others with at least 20% Hispanic populations are represented by 42 Democrats and 31 Republicans.

Context

These research projects were conducted in April and May of 2010. The spring before the 2010 midterm election was a low-salience election environment. Simply put, politics and elections were not what most people were thinking about during this timeframe. For this reason, absolute registration rates were much lower than they would normally be in the run-up to an actual election (and, if one were to calculate it, cost per registration would also be much higher). This is not a fatal limitation, however, since the experimental method allows us to isolate different tactics and strategies for comparison to each other, holding all else constant.

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Structure

The report is structured as follows. The first section provides an overview of randomized controlled experiments and broadly reviews recent relevant research. The second section presents the substance of the research and is organized by mode of voter contact. Direct mail research is covered first, followed by email, banner ads, site canvass, and door canvass. The report then discusses the most important findings. Finally, a detailed description of the methodological approaches and challenges closes the report.

Analysis of the modes is broken down into subsections. The subsections cover each individual experiment in detail, with other subsections touching on important learning about modes that came outside of the experiments. Each experiment is presented with actionable findings, the research questions, a discussion of progressivity for the test, specific background research, groups involved, experimental design, results, ideas for future research, and a discussion of what the results mean.

Experiments Overview & Relevant Research

This report pushes forward a frontier of sorts for experimental research. Voter registration is an important campaign activity, but it is not nearly as well studied by experimental methods compared to Get Out The Vote (GOTV) activities.

Research relevant to this report can be considered in two ways. The first is to consider dimensions of research, meaning the methods of research that were used. The second is to consider domains of research, meaning the types of activities and subjects that were studied.

Experiments

This report leverages the methods of randomized controlled experiments to learn about Hispanic voter registration. Over the last ten years the use of experimentation to learn how to best reach and influence voters has grown rapidly. Applying the scientific method of experimentation and careful data analysis to politics has allowed researchers to identify ways of dramatically improving GOTV efforts. We are only beginning to apply these tools to the full range of campaign activities, including voter registration, and are at the early stages of examining voter persuasion.

Randomized controlled experiments are widely considered the gold standard for assessing the impact of a given activity on a desired behavior. When applied to politics, the basic method is simple. One segment of the targeted population is selected at random to receive a contact program, and the other segment does not receive the contact program. Following the contact, the intended result of the program is measured (for example, registration cards, turnout, or vote choice) for both groups and compared. If the group that received the contact program has a higher response rate than the group that did not, then the difference can be attributed to the contact program.

In experiments, groups that receive the contact program are called “treatment groups.” The group in each experiment that does not receive the contact is called the “control group.” These groups must be carefully randomly selected from the same population of voters. When randomized correctly, everything about these two groups, other than the treatment, is expected to be identical. Therefore, any difference in the performance of the two groups beyond the small chance of random differences can only be attributed to the treatment.

The same basic approach can be used to compare the relative effectiveness of two different contact programs. In this case, rather than a control group there is a second treatment group. As with a control group, any differences between the two treatment groups can only be attributed to different levels of effectiveness of the treatments.

For this report, comparing two or more treatment effects was the preferred approach. A true control group in the context of this voter registration research was impractical for two reasons. First, the level of "background" voter registrations in the spring of a midterm election is extremely low. Any voter registration outreach in this context is unusually likely to be the only voter registration outreach occurring at the time. The more important question is which type of outreach (i.e., messaging, framing, funding orientation, etc.) is most effective, which is precisely what this report focuses on. Second, information on "background" voter registration activity can only be collected when states and counties update the publicly available list of registered voters. This information is updated on irregular schedules that vary widely from state to state, especially in periods of lower electoral salience. Information on registration cards collected, by contrast, can be collected immediately. Therefore this research was designed to analyze the outcome information for comparing treatment effects that was most easily available.

Relevant Research Dimensions

Survey research has been the predominate method of gaining insights about the Hispanic electorate. Surveys capture important information about attitudes and preferences. They are snapshots of a given population in a given context that can provide useful strategic guidance.

Recent survey research is relevant for several substantive and methodological components of this research project. A survey of young Hispanics, conducted in the spring of 2010 by Democracia USA, provides the most recent survey data for understanding the Hispanic electorate. The data from that survey is especially relevant because young Hispanics are, for the demographic reasons mentioned in the previous section, disproportionally the target population for the experiments covered in this report.

The Democracia USA poll was conducted nationwide among Hispanics between the ages of 16-29. Politically, 30% of the young Hispanics in Democracia USA's poll identify as progressive. 45% do not report having a political ideology, while 12% call themselves moderate and 13% conservative. Democrats have the advantage in party identification, however, with 62% of those who report being registered.

Only 9% of young Hispanics are following the elections this fall very closely. 43% are following somewhat closely, with the remainder not following the elections closely.

As can be seen in the chart to the right, most young Hispanics report registering to vote at the Department of Motor Vehicles, with school second and mail following third. When the 16 and 17 year olds were asked for the best way to send them information about registering to vote, 47% preferred mail and 34% preferred the Internet.

How did you register to vote?	
DMV	29%
School/University	25%
Mail	17%
Polling Place	6%
Internet	6%
Voter Registration Drive	5%
Home	4%

Democracia USA poll of Hispanics aged 16-29, May 2010

NDN's 21st Century America Project conducted a national poll in March of 2010. They found that 26% of Hispanics surveyed have moved since the 2008 election.[7] Their poll also identified the Hispanic voting gap from a different perspective. 79% of the entire electorate is registered to vote, but only 71% of Hispanics in NDN's poll reported being registered.

Only 52% of Hispanics in NDN's poll said they were certain to vote this fall, and only 41% said they believe the outcome of the fall's elections to be very important.

Other survey research gives us further insight into habits that can be helpful in reaching Hispanics. Recent surveys from the Pew Research Center show that Latinos are outpacing whites in their usage of data applications on mobile phones, with 87% of Latinos owning a cell phone (compared to 80% of whites) and 63% of all Latinos accessing the Internet through their phones.[8]

In addition to surveys, experiments are another dimension of relevant research. Surveys, as mentioned, provide excellent snapshots. Experiments, however, are best for understanding the specific causal effects of political outreach. Voter registration efforts are necessarily results oriented, and the experimental dimension of research has a proven track record of evaluating tangible program effectiveness.

Relevant Research Domains

Experimental research focusing specifically on Hispanics has been far more concerned with the domain of Get Out The Vote (GOTV) tactics than with voter registration. This is not so much a reflection of Hispanic research as it is a reflection of experimental research, which until recently has focused heavily on GOTV. This report is an opportunity to push forward the research agenda on voter registration generally, and Hispanic research specifically.

[7] In the most recent Current Population Survey from the U.S. Census, 16% of Hispanics were found to have moved from 2008 to 2009. See www.census.gov/cps for more information.

[8] Please see www.pewhispanic.org for more information.

Please note, as mentioned in the overview of the report structure, that previous experimental research relevant to each specific experiment is discussed in the subsections.

The Analyst Institute has conducted several GOTV research projects, mostly during 2008, that were large enough to study treatment effects on Hispanics specifically. A wide range of GOTV tactics have been looked at, including pledge cards, plan making phone calls, and text message reminders. For these research projects, Hispanics were not found to respond significantly differently than other demographic groups.[9]

The California Voter Initiative has conducted GOTV experiments in minority communities through the 2006 and 2008 election cycles. They have made several important findings, such as timing contact efforts for the four weeks prior to the election (a finding supported by Analyst Institute research). Their work has found that minority voter turnout is increased when using field staff from local communities, and when tactics are used that involve live, personal contact between canvassers and voters.[10]

Experimental research in the domain of voter registration is an emerging area, but previous leading examples in 2006 and 2008 were conducted by many of the organizations collaborating on this project.

Certain modes of voter registration outreach have a solid experimental foundation based on this previous work. Online modes, in large part because of Rock the Vote, have an established track record of leveraging experiments to successfully register young Hispanic voters. Women's Voices. Women's Vote has been developing and integrating experimental evidence into their direct mail campaigns, which have been highly successful at registering Hispanics, for several years. For these groups, the experiments in this report are opportunities to refine and hone what they already do well, as well as expand our learning about voter registration in low-salience contexts.

Other modes of contact are not as well understood by experimental methods, for reasons of cost and practicality. The effectiveness of canvassing and field operations for registering voters has not been tested experimentally to the same extent as mail and online. Neither has radio or TV.

While radio and TV outreach are not addressed in this report, the experiments involving both site-based and door-to-door canvass provide real foundational learning. Field experiments in these modes are challenging for practical reasons, and this project was

[9] For more information, please see the Analyst Institute memo on GOTV best practices.

[10] Michelson, Melissa R., Lisa García Bedolla and Donald P. Green. 2009. *New Experiments in Minority Voter Mobilization: Third and Final Report* Votes Initiative (San Francisco, CA: The James Irvine Foundation). Available at www.irvine.org.

no different. However, we hope that these first steps at applying experimental methods to the important work of on the ground Hispanic voter registration will be useful in their own right, as well as inspiring more research in the future.

Mail

Actionable Findings

- Procedures for improving data quality are always important, especially so for Hispanics

Data Quality and Models

Data quality is a significant concern when targeting direct mail, especially for marginal populations. Gaps in available data can result in a host of issues that significantly impact both response rates and accurate program evaluation. Some of the more common issues resulting from data gaps include mailing to people who are already registered, or mailing to undeliverable or out-dated addresses. Data quality is an especially important issue when targeting Hispanics, because many Hispanics who appear on databases as members of the Voting Age Population (VAP) are not citizens and hence not eligible to register to vote.

Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF) has developed, over the course of several election cycles, a rigorous set of best practices for avoiding these problems and efficiently using direct mail data. For example, previous WVWVAF research has found that half of all "non-registered" Hispanic targets identified through traditional data methods have a range of similar problems that should exclude them from any mail program. (These problems are also true of other components of the Rising American Electorate.) These data gaps include already being registered at the address listed as non-registered on the VAP data, being registered at another address while also being likely to live at the second address, or not being a person living at the address listed (if such a person listed on the VAP data even exists).

WVWVAF research has demonstrated that it is dramatically more effective to A) use a data evaluation tool like ExactTrack or AbiliTec to improve confidence in matches, and B) only mail to VAP names that appear on multiple residential databases at the same address. The experiments included in this project have allowed WVWVAF to improve their efficiency even further by addressing key unanswered questions about targeting criteria and providing important data for improving their models.

Broadly speaking, WVWVAF identifies individuals who have moved or are non-registered through the following structure. The publicly available file of registered voters is used to identify individuals. Commercial sources of data are then matched with the voter file. If an individual is matched to the voter file, but currently is shown by ExactTrack or AbiliTec to live at a different address than that listed on the voter file, they are flagged by WVWVAF as having moved. If an individual is not matched to the voter file and appears on multiple residential databases, they are flagged by WVWVAF as non-registered. Failing to match an existing voter file record to an individual in other data results in 'false negatives', meaning that they are incorrectly identified as non-registered, even though

they are in fact registered.

In previous cycles and tests of technologies, WVWVAF identified false negatives for as many as 1⁄3 of individuals on unregistered Voting Age Population (VAP) lists commonly used for registration programs. False negatives hinder the ability to accurately evaluate the success and true cost of voter registration drives, because WVWVAF research has also shown repeatedly that re-registration rates are consistently higher than registering those that have never registered to vote. Compounding the issue even further is the fact that there are very few commercial data products available on the market that can mitigate the false negative issue (and those that are available can be very expensive). That said, WVWVAF has been utilizing ExactTrack, one of these commercially-available products, to improve the quality of their lists. The use of ExactTrack has shown that, even with the added expense of the commercial matching product, the data quality improvements resulting from accurate list matching more than outweigh the costs of having 1⁄3 of direct mail be ineffective, and result in the lowest cost per registration.

WVWVAF research in 2007⁄2008 determined that the length of time since moving was a key factor in response rates, with longer times since moving resulting in lower response rates. One goal of this research is to help WVWVAF determine if it is more cost effective to target Hispanic movers that moved more than 16 months ago, or if it is more effective to target non-registered Hispanics through data on the Voting Age Population (VAP). WVWVAF found that it is more efficient to target movers who have moved more than 16 months ago. The order of efficiency for resources as shown by WVWVAF testing is now determined to be:

- Hispanic movers that have moved less than 16 months ago
- Hispanic youth turning 18
- Hispanic movers that moved more than 16 months ago
- Hispanic VAP

A significant part of WVWVAF's involvement in this project was to study the impact of their next generation models for both issues and response modeling, which can be used to predict the likelihood of a progressive Hispanic returning a voter registration application. Therefore, WVWVAF did not limit the universe for the research at all; no models were applied to this test except the marital status model and ethnicity model. In other words, the data collected during these experiments allowed WVWVAF to test and improve their models, which are available to benefit the entire progressive community.

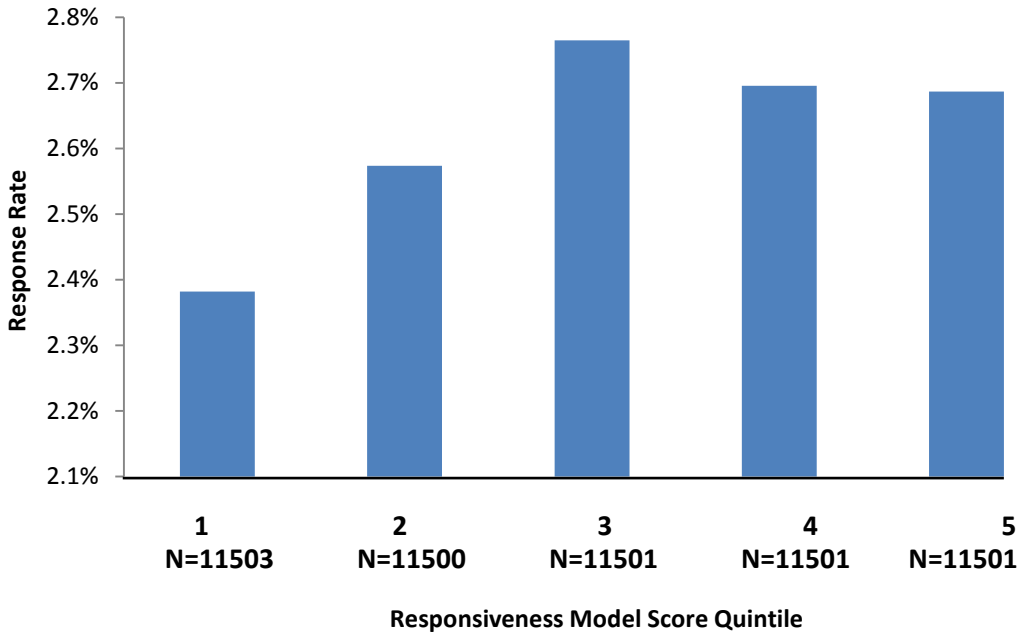
Hispanic Movers: The Effectiveness of WVWVAF Responsiveness Models

Model Effectiveness

The Analyst Institute analyzed the impact of the mail responsiveness model on treatment effects. We first assessed the effectiveness of WVWVAF's mail responsiveness model across the entire population of Hispanic movers that was

targeted for the direct mail experiments. We used regression analysis to assess the predictive power of the model scores on actual responses to the direct mail outreach.

We found that the responsiveness model is correlated with response rate. However, the relationship is not very strong. The response data current as of June 18th yields a weak, marginally significant relationship between model score and response rate (t-stat=1.68). The coefficient is approximately 5.0%, indicating that a 100% increase in the model score is associated with a 5.0% increase in responsiveness. We divided the responsiveness model scores into quintiles and showed the actual response rates in each for visualization purposes (see figure below).



Interestingly, mail data up to June 2nd finds a stronger relationship (t-stat=1.84). In this case, we are unable to tell whether this is due to random variation, or due to the responsiveness model being better suited for predicting immediate response rates in the case of Hispanic movers. Future studies should explore this question.

The relatively poor predictive relationship says nothing about the predictive power of the model in a more general context. These results hold only for this particular subsample—Hispanic movers—implying that the responsiveness model is only marginally effective for Hispanic movers.

Treatment Responsiveness

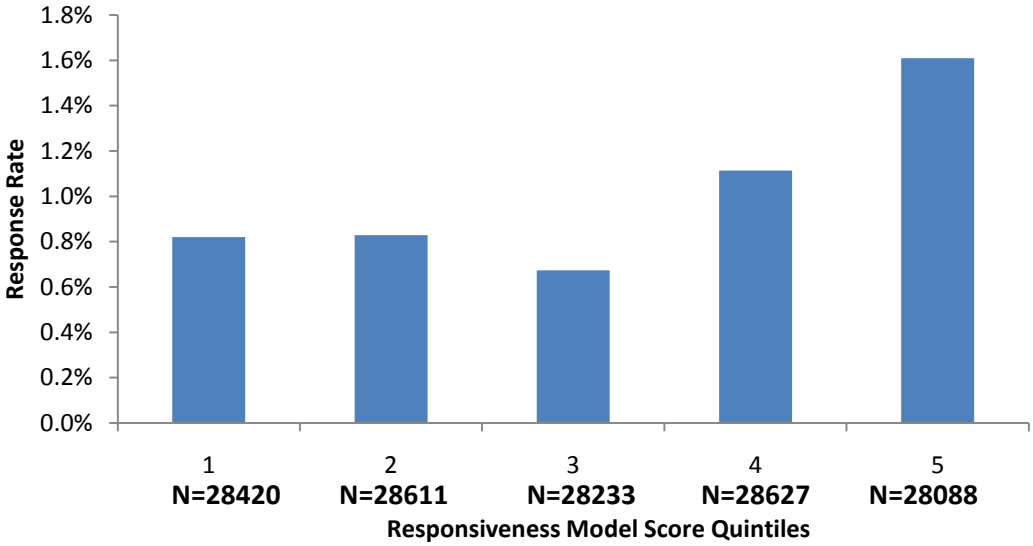
We then analyzed whether the responsiveness model predicts differential responses to the different types of mail. We created an interaction term of the model score and each treatment condition. We looked at the two direct mail experiments that targeted Hispanic movers in turn. We found that the responsiveness model does not meaningfully interact with any of the treatment conditions—both the ones that varied

the content of the direct mail and the ones that included (or excluded) pre-treatment calls.

Non-registered Hispanics: The Effectiveness of WVWVAF Responsiveness

Model Effectiveness

We again assessed the effectiveness of WVWVAF's mail responsiveness model, but this time across the entire population of non-registered Hispanics that was targeted for the direct mail experiments. We used regression analysis to assess the predictive power of the model scores on actual responses to the direct mail outreach. We found that there is a fairly strong relationship between the response model and the response rate. An OLS regression finds that a 100% increase in the responsiveness model score is associated with a 16.2% increase in actual response rate (t-stat=11.12).[11] We divided the responsiveness model scores into quintiles and show the actual response rates in each for visualization purposes (see figure below).



Treatment Responsiveness

We then looked to see whether the responsiveness model predicts differential responses to the different types of mail. We created an interaction term of the model score and each treatment condition. We found that across all types of direct mail experiments for non-registered Hispanics, the responsiveness model meaningfully interacts with each mailing condition at consistently statistically significant levels. In other words, it is possible to utilize the responsiveness model to target individuals who respond more strongly to the direct mail.

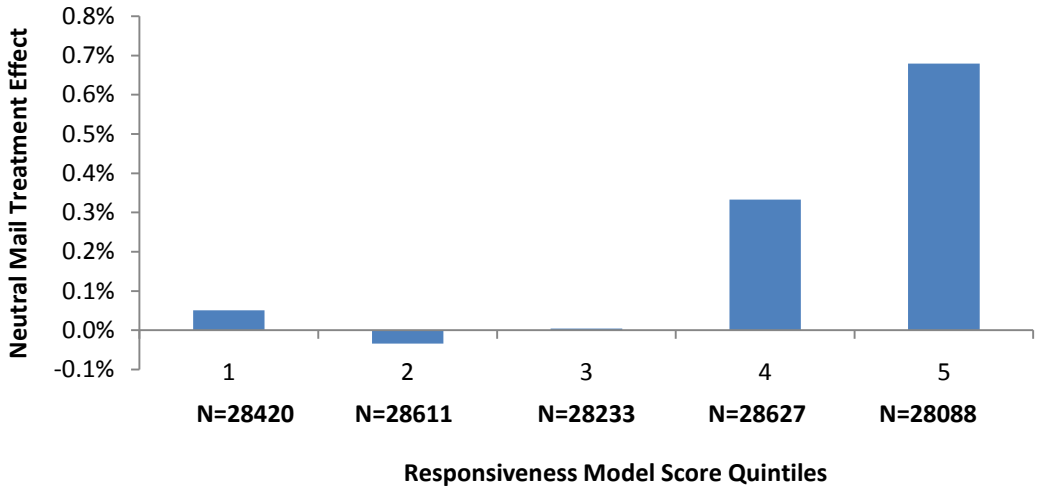
[11] Unlike with the movers, the updated response rate data only strengthens the model.

In the table below, we see that targeting individuals by the most predictive quintiles increases both the base response rate and the responsiveness to the most effective mail piece—the neutral mailer. Namely, not only does the base response rate increase, but so does the effect of the neutral mail in relation to the base treatment rate. As seen in the first column, without the model the neutral mail lift is only ~18% (0.18% over 0.99%); if we target using the extreme quintile of the response model (as seen in the final column), the lift is ~64% (0.99% vs. 1.54%).

	Full Sample	Top Resp. Quintile
Neutral Mail Treatment Effect	0.18%**	0.68%***
Base Response Rate	0.99%***	1.54%***
N	141979	28088

**** p<.01, ** p<.05. These are results from a series of single-variate OLS regressions.*

More detailed depictions of the treatment effect by responsiveness model score quintiles can be seen in the figures below.

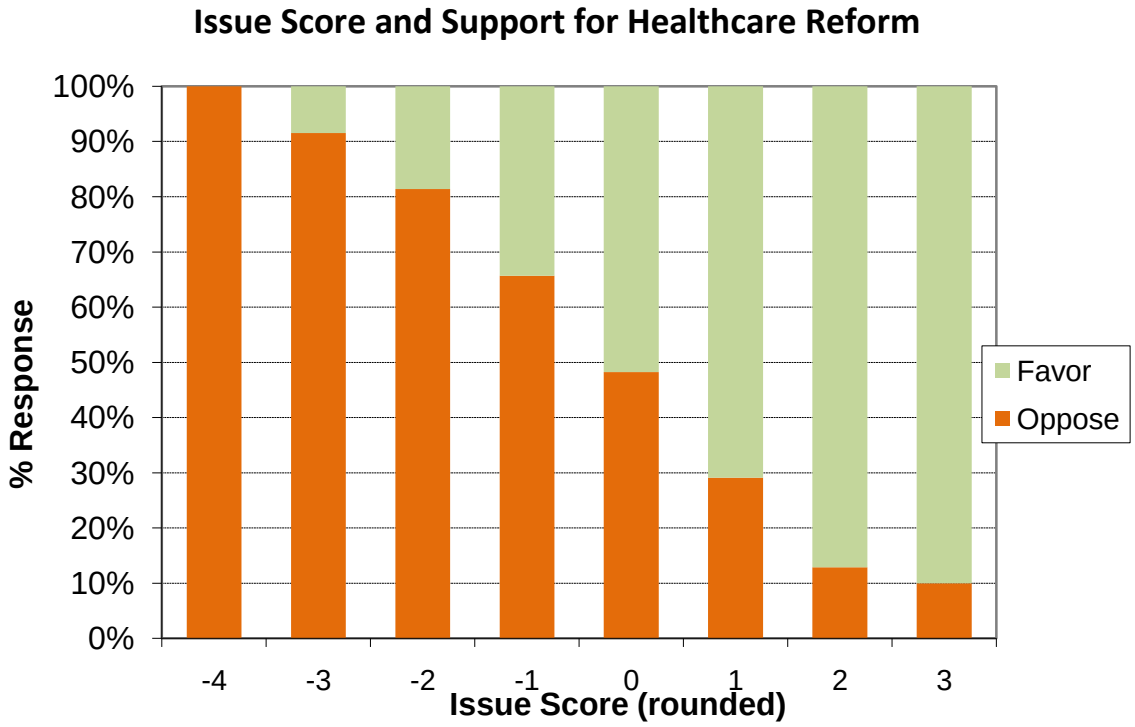


These figures illustrate that only the two extreme quintiles could have been used to increase the magnitude of the impact of the neutral direct mail in terms of the response rate of non-registered Hispanics.

Progressivity: The WVWVAF Issues Model

WVWVAF's initial issues model was developed during the 2008 election cycle to identify individuals likely to share the broader progressive issues agenda of the Rising American Electorate (RAE)—unmarried women, people of color and people between the ages 18-29. The model used demographic, consumer, and geographic information to predict an individual's responses to a battery of progressive issue questions. These issue questions include highly polarizing questions about gay marriage, abortion, and the war in Iraq.

The 2010 WVWVAF issues model was based on more than 6,500 interviews conducted to create a unified progressive agenda scale for measuring the underlying attitudes of voters with precision. Updated highly polarizing questions regarding the Tea Party Movement, President Obama, and Sarah Palin were used. Modeling voters' location on the issues scale allows WVWVAF to better focus their registration and GOTV efforts.



As can be seen in the slide above, the higher the issues score, the greater the support for Healthcare. Higher issues scores also translate into a greater likelihood of seeing the country headed in the right direction, as well as higher favorability ratings for President Obama.

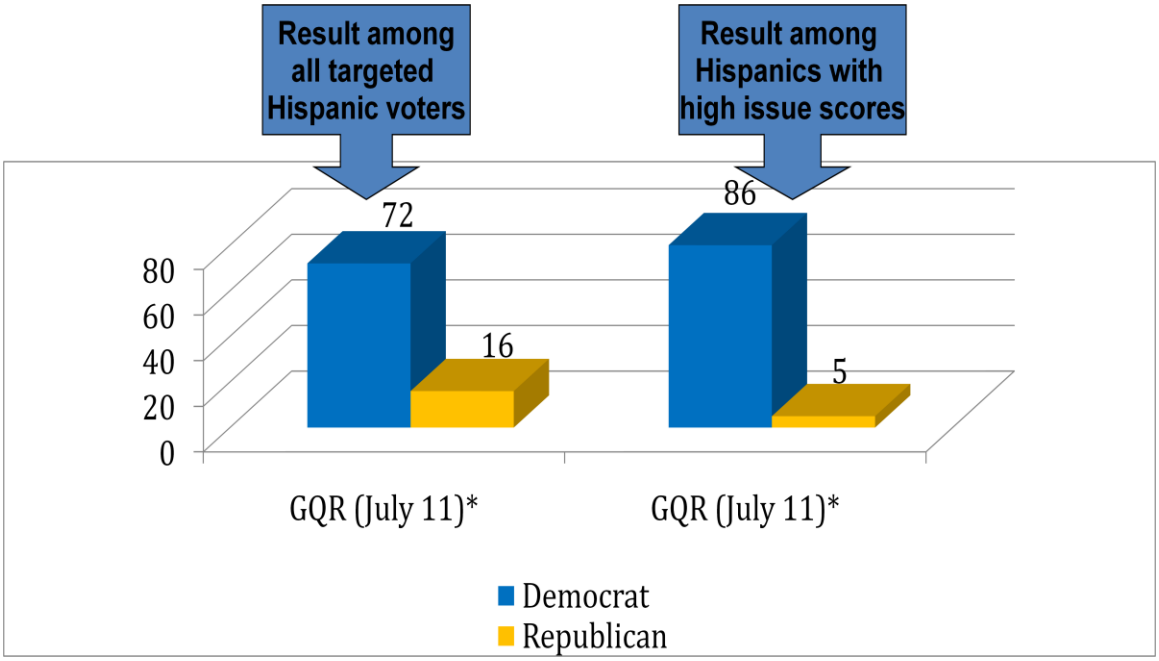
The issues model is designed to be used as a cut point for targeting RAE individuals for WVWVAF programs. This allows WVWVAF to make sure it is using its scarce resources to target the RAE. In most—if not all—cases, WVWVAF will target RAE citizens with positive issues scores for its programs. As one can see in the graph above, positive issues model scores are associated with positive support for healthcare reform.

Without using the issues model 30.1 percent of the Hispanic VAP voter registration applicants and 31.5 percent of the Hispanic movers voter registration applicants came from individuals with negative issues model scores, and conversely about 70 percent of the registrants had positive issues scores.

WVWV recently conducted a survey of RAE voters in six states with issues scores of -1 or higher, as well as high scores on WVWV's model for predicting voters who drop-off after voting in a presidential election. The survey was designed to permit WVWV to establish what cut points it should use on multiple models in conducting its rollout voter

registration and GOTV programs. Although not designed to measure progressivity rather than partisanship, Hispanic voters in the survey with an issues score above 0 supported Democrats on a generic congressional ballot by a 68 percent to 15 percent margin (4.5 to 1).

Issue Model among Hispanics in Preference for Congress



Experiment 1: Direct Mail Messaging for Movers

Actionable Findings

- A neutral exterior worked best
- A neutral interior message worked best

Progressivity of Registrants

Individuals registered through this experiment were slightly more likely to be progressive than average, according to the WVWVAF issues model.

Research Questions

1. Is neutral messaging more or less effective at reregistering Hispanic movers than less neutral messaging?
2. Is a message emphasizing the convenience of reregistering by mail more or less effective at reregistering Hispanic movers than neutral messaging?
3. Is a message emphasizing anger at politicians more or less effective at reregistering Hispanic movers than neutral messaging?
4. Is a message emphasizing the time for a political change more or less effective at reregistering Hispanic movers than neutral messaging?
5. Is a message emphasizing that most people reregister more or less effective at reregistering Hispanic movers than neutral messaging?
6. Does a form that looks and reads "neutral" inside and out perform better or worse than forms that look neutral on the outside, but contain less neutral messaging on the inside?

Background Research

Previous Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund direct mail research has repeatedly found that neutral messaging is the most effective at re-registering movers.[12] While previous direct mail research has found that neutral messaging dominates, it is not clear whether that is simply because people are more likely to open neutral messaging, or because neutral messaging is the most motivating message overall. This experiment tests a condition where the messaging is neutral inside and out, versus four conditions where the messaging is neutral on the outside but less neutral on the inside. This should provide insight as to whether neutral messaging dominates overall, or whether it is only needed to get people to open the form, after which other messaging might be more effective.

[12] Tests during the 2008 election cycle found the most neutral appearing mailing to dominate. For more information, please see the WVWVAF Registration Program presentation from December 12, 2008, available on the Analyst Institute website (www.analystinstitute.org).

Groups Involved

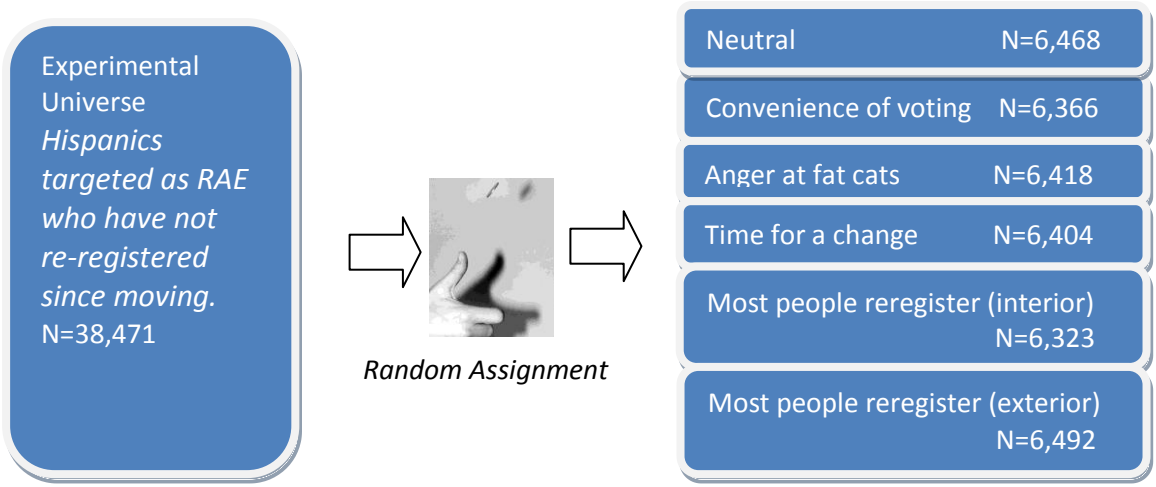
Voter Participation Center, a project of Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF)

Design

The universe for this experiment is composed of previously registered Hispanic members of the Rising American Electorate (RAE) who have moved since before the 2008 election. The RAE is defined as people of color, unmarried women, and those citizens who can vote under the age of 30. This particular experiment targeted people in Colorado, Florida, and Missouri. Targets who met the above criteria were further screened using WVWVAF's data quality filters. [13]

Targets were randomly assigned to receive one of six messaging treatments. The different messages were enclosed on the inside of a plain exterior, except for the final condition that was designed to test the effect of an alternative exterior. The messages, which are summarized in the chart below, tested different motivational concepts from the field of social psychology. A detailed description of the messages can be found in the Methods section, under the discussion of the mail tests.

Example of Neutral Treatment

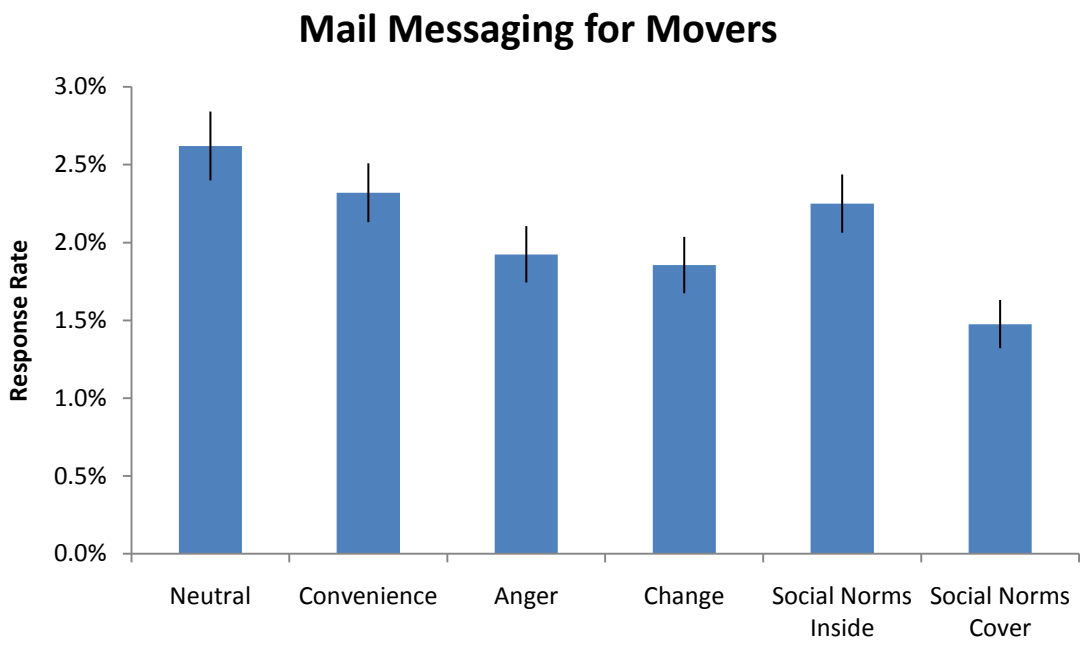


[13] Previously registered individuals were identified through TargetSmart's voter files, and their identities at their current addresses was confirmed using ExactTracks matching technology. Specifically, individuals who met the RAE criteria were included who either moved into Colorado, Florida, or Missouri from another state, or who moved to a new county within those states and have not re-registered since moving. The date of the move in all of the Hispanic oversamples was limited to those who had moved prior to the 2008 general election and not re-registered.

Results

The table below reports the response rates for each of the treatments. Actual response numbers and rates, as of June 28th, are reported in the middle columns. Analysis found a randomization imbalance for whether an individual had an email or phone number on file. However, this imbalance was controlled for.[14] The graph that follows contains a bar for the estimated effect of each message, and the lines represent the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate, as determined by regression analysis.[15]

Treatment	Mailed	Responses n	Response Rate (with controls)
Neutral	6,468	184	2.6%
Convenience	6,366	135	2.2%
Anger	6,418	131	1.9%
Change	6,404	123	1.9%
Social Norms Inside	6,323	143	2.2%
Social Norms Cover	6,492	99	1.5%
Total	38,471	760	2.1%



[14] Because the source of the randomization imbalance was identified, the final column of the table reports estimates that control for the availability of phone numbers and email addresses. The differences without the controls are statistically significant as well, giving further confidence to the robustness of the findings. For more details on the randomization imbalance, please see the notes on Mail experiments in the methods section.

[15] Procedures for adjusting confidence intervals when adding control covariates to an experimental analysis, such as the Bonferroni Correction, are appropriate when using covariates for causal inference of outcomes. This situation is commonly referred to as "multiple comparisons." However, we are instead using control covariates to correct for an observed component of the randomization procedure. Therefore we did not adjust the confidence intervals.

Through June 28th, as expected, the neutral message outperformed every other interior message in a statistically significant way in all cases but one ($p<.05$). It was 0.5% more effective than the descriptive social norm message when placed on the inside, but at a lower significance level ($p=0.076$). In every other case, it was at least 0.4% more effective ($p<.05$). These results seem to indicate that the effectiveness of neutral messaging goes beyond its ability to facilitate the opening of mail, since the exterior of these treament conditions were all identical.

The treatment condition with the descriptive social norm message on the outside performed worse than all other conditions. The differences ranged from 0.4% ($p=0.053$) to 1.1% ($p<0.001$). This lends support to the notion that a neutral exterior is more effective than a less neutral exterior.

Future Research

Future research could look into the use of a logo, seal, flag or other symbol as part of the neutral messaging package, given that WVWVAF has repeatedly shown neutral messaging to be more effective than non-neutral messaging, both on the cover as well as inside.

What does it mean?

The treatment that was most "neutral" inside and outside was the most effective at encouraging registrations from Hispanic movers. This result is consistent with findings from other WVWVAF direct mail messaging research for movers, suggesting that Hispanic movers do not respond differently to direct mail than other movers WVWVAF has targeted.

Experiment 2: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for RAE Movers

Actionable Findings

- Automated calls were as effective as live calls for pre-treatments

Progressivity of Registrants

Individuals registered through this experiment were slightly more likely to be progressive than average, according to the WVWVAF issues model.

Research Question

What type of pre-treatment phone call increases propensity to re-register by direct mail?

Background Research

The effectiveness of pre-mail phone treatments at increasing mail responsiveness has been examined in previous Women's Voices. Women Vote research. This experiment is designed to test whether a variety of pre-mail phone treatments increase mail response rates for Hispanic movers who moved more than 16 months ago.

Groups Involved

Voter Participation Center, a project of Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF)

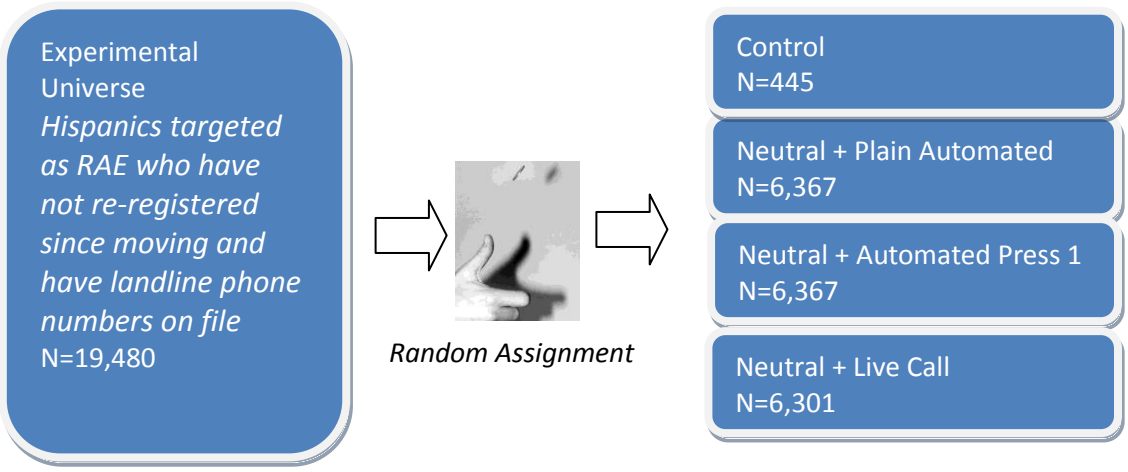
Design

The universe for this experiment is composed of Hispanic members of the Rising American Electorate (RAE) who have moved since before the 2008 election. The RAE is defined as people of color , unmarried women, and citizens eligible to vote under the age of 30. This particular experiment targeted people in Colorado, Florida, and Missouri. Targets who met the above criteria were further screened using WVWVAF's data quality filters. [16]

Targets were sent the neutral registration form with the neutral interior message from Experiment 1. The control group in this analysis is the sample of targets from Experiment 1 who received the neutral message and who had landline phone numbers available, which is limited to 445 targets. Targets were randomly assigned to three treatment conditions. One received the neutral form, plus a plain automated call informing them the registration application was in the mail and asking them to look for it. A second condition received the form plus an automated call before the form arrived that asked the target to "press 1" if they would look for it in the mail. A third condition received the

[16] Previously registered individuals were identified through TargetSmart's voter files, and their identities at their current addresses was confirmed using ExactTracks matching technology. Specifically, individuals who met the RAE criteria were included who either moved into Colorado, Florida, or Missouri from another state, or who moved to a new county within those states and have not re-registered since moving. The date of the move in all of the Hispanic oversamples was limited to those who had moved prior to the 2008 general election and not re-registered.

form plus a live phone call asking the individual to "watch for it" before the form arrived.



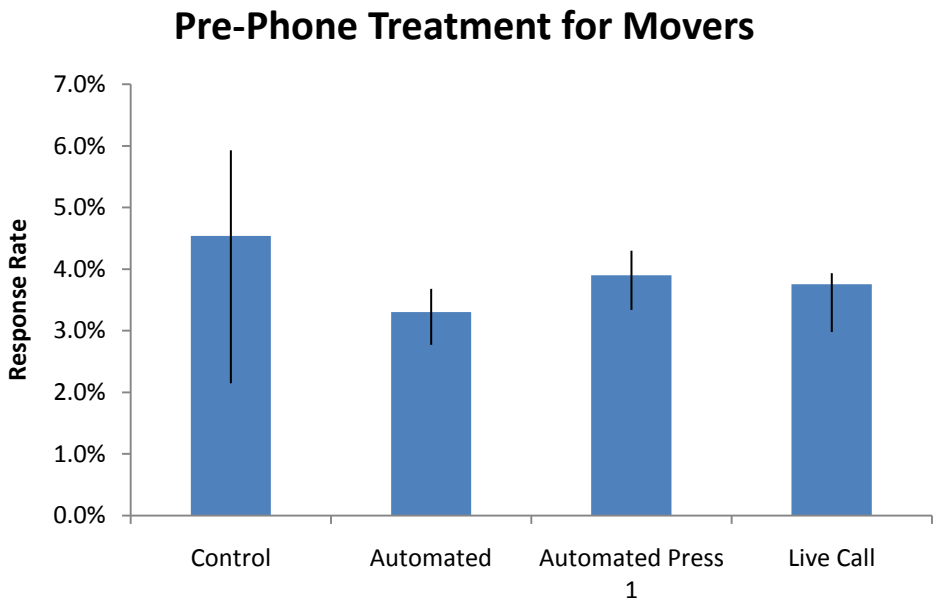
Results

The table below reports the response rates for each of the phone treatments. Actual response numbers and rates, as of June 28th, are reported in the middle columns. Analysis found a randomization imbalance for whether an individual had an email or phone number on file. However, this imbalance was controlled for.[17] The graph that follows contains a bar for the estimated effect of each message, and the lines represent the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate, as determined by regression analysis.

There were no statistically significant differences between the control group and any of the various phone treatments, nor are there significant difference when the phone conditions are compared to each other. Since the sample for the control group is so small, one should not necessarily conclude that the treatments were totally ineffective. The null results when comparing the control group to each of the treatments could simply be due to a lack of statistical power. One can more confidently conclude that there were not meaningful differences between the three phone treatment conditions.

Treatment	**Mailed**	**Responses n**	**Response Rate (with control)**
Control	445	20	4.5%
Plain Automated	6,367	209	3.3%
Automated Press 1	6,367	237	3.9%
Live Call	6,301	242	3.8%
Total	19,480	670	3.6%

[17] Because the source of the randomization imbalance was identified, the final column of the table reports estimates that control for the availability of phone numbers and email addresses. The differences without the controls are statistically significant as well, giving further confidence to the robustness of the findings. For more details on the randomization imbalance, please see the notes on Mail experiments in the methods section.



Future Research

Future research could study this same question but with substantially larger sample sizes. Additionally, future research could look at greater variation in the phone pre-treatment, such as testing a live volunteer call against a live paid call, or by varying the caller script.

What does it mean?

Phone treatments in conjunction with receiving mail made no noticable impact, though a lack of statistical power could explain the null results.

Live calls cost dramatically more than automated calls. Given the significant cost differences, these results can confirm that live calls are not a cost-effective pre-treatment when mailing Hispanic movers.

Experiment 3: Mail Messaging for Non-registered Hispanics

Actionable Findings

- A neutral exterior worked best

Progressivity of Registrants

Individuals registered through this experiment were slightly more likely to be progressive than average, according to the WVWVAF issues model.

Research Questions

1. Is neutral messaging more or less effective at registering non-registered Hispanics than less neutral messaging?
2. Is a social norm message that reports high registration rates more or less effective than a social norm message that reports low rates of non-registration?
3. Which cultural identity-based mail message is more effective at generating Hispanic registrations, American or Hispanic?
4. Is c(4) mail messaging more or less effective than c(3) mail messaging?
5. Is Pro-Democrat c(4) mail messaging more or less effective than Anti-Republican c(4) mail messaging at generating Hispanic registrations?
6. Is neutral mail messaging more or less effective than issue-based mail messaging at generating Hispanic registrations?
7. Is neutral messaging from a specific organization more or less effective than more general neutral messaging?

Background Research

Previous WVWVAF direct mail research has repeatedly found that neutral messaging is the most effective at generating registrations for individuals who have never been registered and have no previous relationship to the sending organization.[18]

The social norms component of the experiment is designed to replicate tests targeted at non-registered Hispanics.

The cultural identity experiment is designed to extend research conducted in other behavioral science domains involving cultural identity to the context of voter registration mail for Hispanics.

Groups Involved

Center for Voter Participation, a project of Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF), and Democracia Ahora

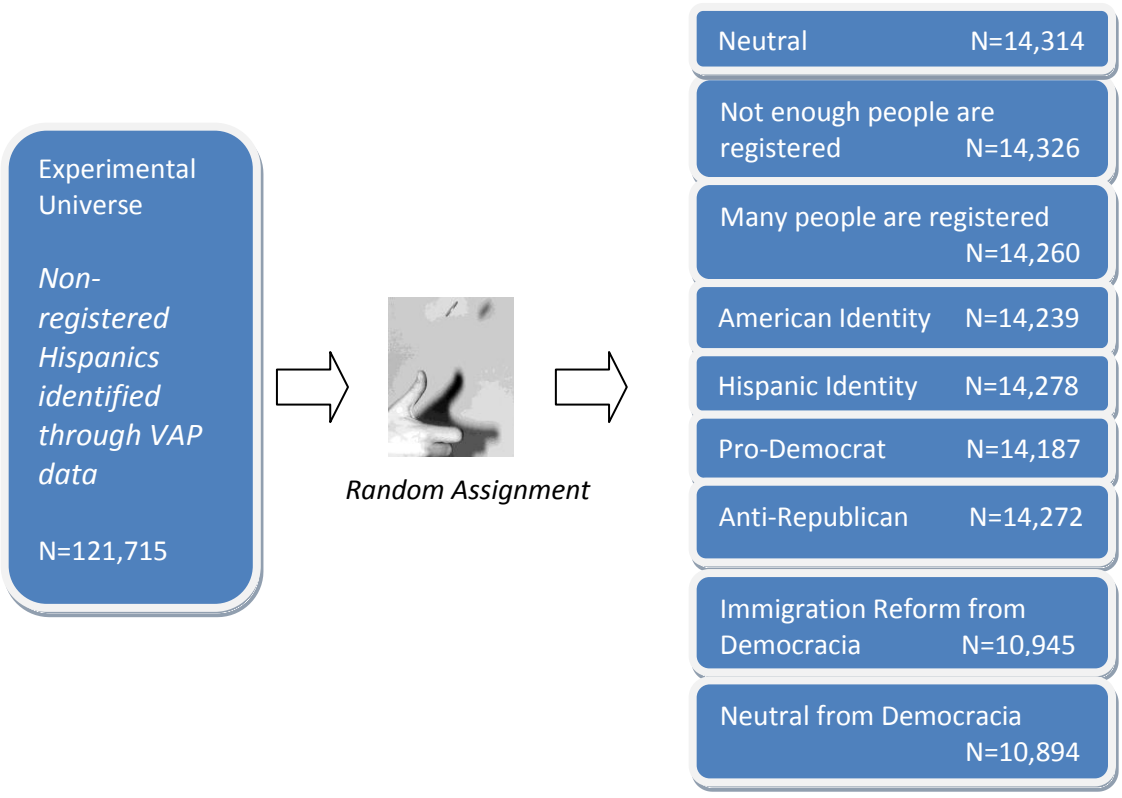
[18] Tests during the 2008 election cycle found that using a neutral-sounding sending organization was more effective than using WVWVAF itself. Those tests also found that using an in-state organizational address increased response rates by 20%. For more information, please see the WVWVAF Registration Program presentation from December 12, 2008, available on the Analyst Institute website (www.analystinstitute.org).

Design

The universe includes non-registered Hispanics in Nevada and Colorado, as identified by cross-checking commercial data on people in the Voting Age Population (VAP) with the publicly available lists of registered voters. Targets who met these criteria were further screened using WVWVAF's data quality filters. [19]

Example of Pro-Democrat Treatment

Targets in the universe were randomly assigned one of nine message treatments, each of which appeared on the inside of the form. One treatment condition contained a neutral message. The other treatments looked at paired dimmensions of messaging tests from social psychology that have proven successful in other contexts. The treatments are summarized in the following diagram. A detailed description of the messages can be found in the Methods section, under the discussion of the mail tests.



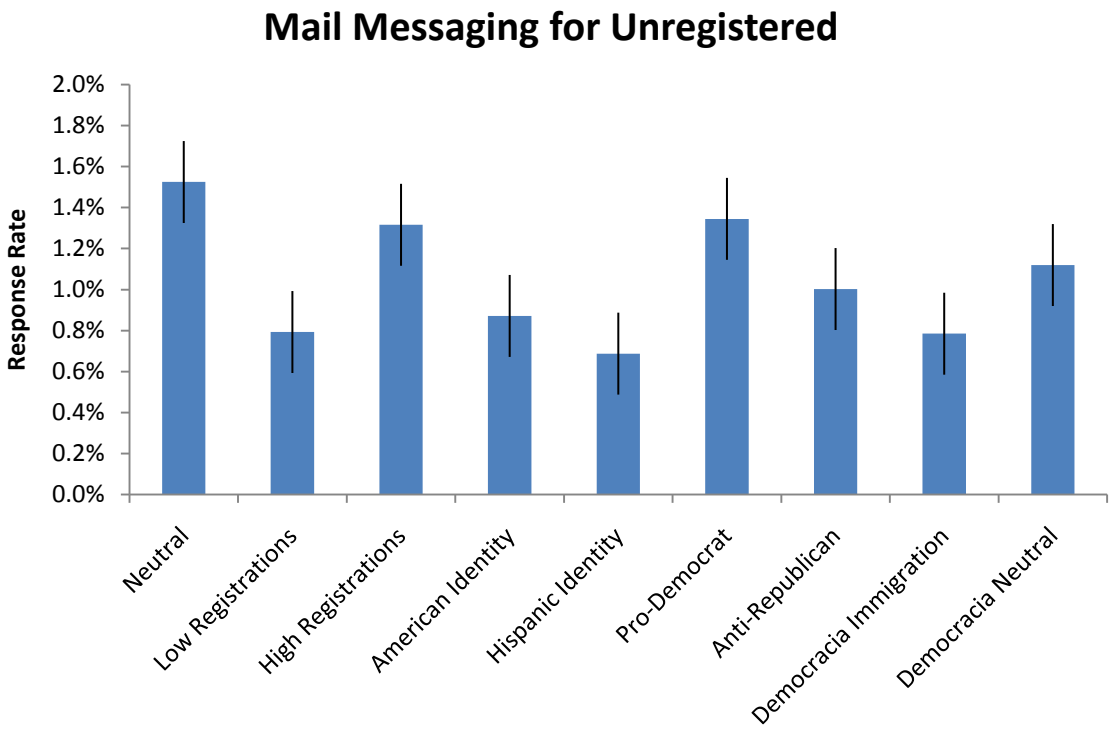
[19] Following WVWVAF's best practices, which have been developed over several election cycles, this experimental universe consists of individuals identified as non-registered by multiple residential databases available to TargetSmart. WVWVAF research has shown that records from a single source are dramatically less likely to be proper VAP records, with two distinct problems. Please see the discussion of direct mail in the Methods section for more detail.

Results

The table below reports the response rates for each of the treatments. Actual response numbers and rates, as of June 28th, are reported in the middle columns. Analysis found a randomization imbalance for whether an individual had an email or phone number on file. However, this imbalance was controlled for.[20] The graph that follows contains a bar for the estimated effect of each message, and the lines represent the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate, as determined by regression analysis.

Treatment	**Mailed**	**Responses n**	**Response Rate (with controls)**
Neutral	14,314	170	1.6%
Low Registrations	14,326	135	0.8%
High Registrations	14,260	136	1.4%
American Identity	14,239	141	1.0%
Hispanic Identity	14,278	149	0.7%
Pro-Democrat	14,187	139	1.3%
Anti-Republican	14,272	142	1.1%
Democracia Immigration	10,945	62	0.9%
Democracia Neutral	10,894	98	1.2%
Total	121,715	1,172	1.1%

[20] Because the source of the randomization imbalance was identified, the final column of the table reports estimates that control for the availability of phone numbers and email addresses. The differences without the controls are statistically significant as well, giving further confidence to the robustness of the findings. For more details on the randomization imbalance, please see the notes on Mail experiments in the methods section.



The Neutral message outperformed most other treaments in a statistically significant way ($p<0.05$). When compared directly it was about 0.3% more effective than the Low Registrations, High Registrations, and Democracia Neutral treatments, and 0.7% more effective than the American Identity, Hispanic Identity, Anti-Republican, and Democracia Immigration treatments ($p<0.05$). Though it compared favorably to the Pro-Democrat message, the difference was not statistically significant ($p=0.17$).

When the two social norm messages are directly compared to each other, there is no statistically significant difference. There are also no significant differences between the two identity or the two partisan treatments. The Democracia Neutral message was 0.3% more effective than the Democracia Immigration Reform message ($p<0.01$).

Future Research

More experiments are needed to test the potential impact of descriptive social norms. The directional results between the two social norm treatments in this study are consistent with some previous WVWV research on what they termed the "bandwagon" mailings.

Future research could investigate other types of identity appeals. For example, social psychology research suggests that messages asserting a civic identity can be effective at encouraging civic participation (e.g., "We need people like you, the kind of people who vote.")

What does it mean?

Consistent with several prior studies, the Neutral message was the most effective at encouraging registrations from Hispanics who did not have a prior relationship with the

sending organization. The Neutral mailing from a generic source, the Voter Participation Center, was more effective than a Neutral mailing from a Hispanic-focused organization, Democracia Ahora. This suggests that the more neutral the registration mail appears when sent to non-registered Hispanics, the more effective it will be, which is consistent with past research.

Analysis of the WVWVAF progressivty model scores shows that the Pro-Democrat message has a marginally higher progressivity score than the Neutral message. The Pro-Democrat message has an average progressivity score of 0.43. The Neutral message has an average progressivity score of 0.17. This difference of 0.26 demonstrates that the Pro-Democrat message does reach more progressive respondents. However, given that C(4) resources are more costly to acquire, and that the full range of the progressivity model is from -4 to 4, we do not believe the 0.26 difference is enough to justify concluding the Pro-Democrat message is a more cost-effective message for maximizing net progressive registrations.

Experiment 4: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for Non-registered Hispanics

Actionable Findings

- Automated calls were as effective as live calls for pre-treatments

Progressivity of Registrants

Individuals registered through this experiment were slightly more likely to be progressive than average, according to the WVWVAF issues model.

Research Question

What type of pre-treatment phone call increases a target's propensity to register?

Background Research

The effectiveness of pre-mail treatments at increasing mail responsiveness has been hypothesized in previous research. This experiment is designed to test whether a variety of pre-mail phone treatments increase mail response rates.

Groups Involved

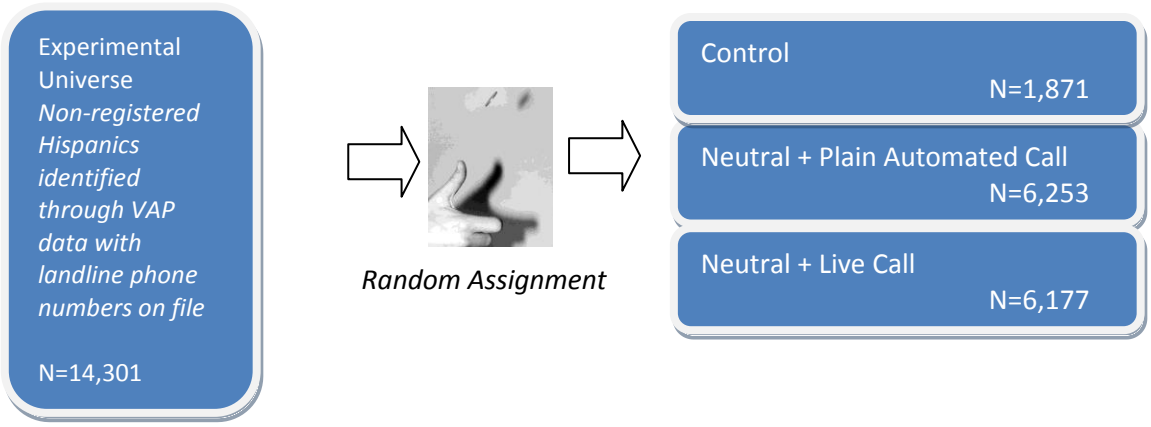
Center for Voter Participation, a project of Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF)

Design

The universe includes non-registered Hispanics in Nevada and Colorado, as identified by cross-checking commercial data on people in the Voting Age Population (VAP) with the publicly available lists of registered voters. Targets who met these criteria were further screened using WVWVAF's data quality filters. [21]

Targets in the universe were randomly assigned to receive one of two phone pre-treatments, or to a control group that did not receive a pre-treatment. The control group in this analysis is the sample of targets from Experiment 3 who received the neutral message and who had landline phone numbers available, which is limited to 1,871 targets. All three conditions were mailed a registration form that contained the neutral message from the previous experiment. Targets in one treatment condition received the form plus a plain automated call before the form arrived. Targets in the other condition received the form plus a live call before the form arrived.

[21] Following WVWVAF's best practices, which have been developed over several election cycles, this experimental universe consists of individuals identified as non-registered by multiple sources in TargetSmart's database. WVWVAF research has shown that records from a single source are dramatically less likely to be proper records, and therefore have a dramatically lower response rate than unregsitered data that uses multiple sources. People who are already registered at the same address, but which failed to match to the voter file given the quality of the single source record, have higher response rates. WVWVAF data quality measures elminate these individuals from target lists.

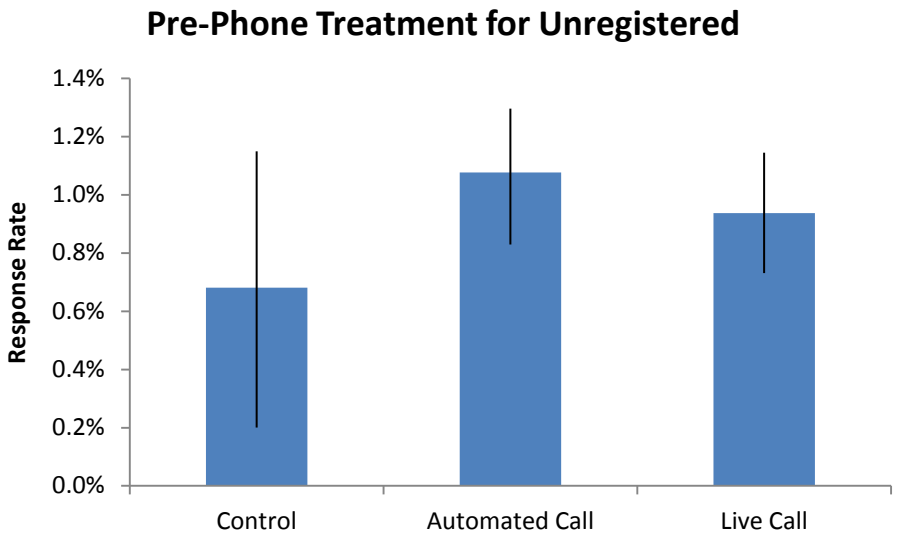


Results

The table below reports the response rates for each of the phone treatments. Actual response numbers and rates, as of June 28th, are reported in the middle columns. Analysis found a randomization imbalance for whether an individual had an email or phone number on file. However, this imbalance was controlled for.[22] The graph that follows contains a bar for the estimated effect of each message, and the lines represent the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate, as determined by regression analysis.

Treatment	**Mailed**	**Responses n**	**Response Rate (with control)**
Control	1,871	32	0.7%
Automated Call	6,253	112	1.1%
Live Call	6,177	108	0.9%
Total	14,301	196	1.0%

[22] Because the source of the randomization imbalance was identified, the final column of the table reports estimates that control for the availability of phone numbers and email addresses. The differences without the controls are statistically significant as well, giving further confidence to the robustness of the findings. For more details on the randomization imbalance, please see the notes on Mail experiments in the methods section.



Neither phone pre-treatment was found to be significantly more effective than the control. However, this null finding could be due to a lack of statistical power. One can more confidently conclude that there is no detectable difference between a pre-mail automated call or live call.

Future Research

Future research could look at more detailed variation in the phone pre-treatment, such as testing a live volunteer call against a live paid call, or by varying the caller script.

What does it mean?

Phone treatments made prior to receiving mail made no detectable impact, though a lack of statistical power could explain the null results. There are directional effects suggesting that automated pre-calls may increase response rate.

Live calls cost dramatically more than automated calls. Given these significant cost differences, these results can confirm that live calls are not a cost-effective pre-treatment when mailing Hispanic movers.

Email

Experiment 1: Social Norms Email Messaging for Movers with a Prior Relationship

Actionable Findings

- Neutral messaging worked best for emailing people who already have a relationship with an organization

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about progressivity was collected for this specific experiment. The individuals targeted were Hispanics already on Rock The Vote Action Fund's email lists.

Research Question

Among Hispanic movers already on a C(3) organization's email list, which email messages have a higher rate of opens, clickthroughs, and re-registrations?

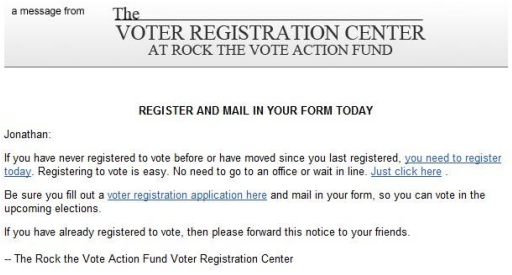
Background Research

Insights from social psychology suggest that emphasizing that many others perform a given behavior encourages targets to adopt that behavior when compared to emphasizing that very few others perform that behavior. This experiment tests whether emphasizing high voter registration rates generates more opens, clickthroughs, and registrations as compared to emphasizing low registration rates.

Groups Involved
Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF) [23]

Design

The universe of people for this experiment is composed of Hispanic movers on RTVAF's email list. Targets were randomly assigned to receive one of three types of email messages: (1) Neutral, (2) High Registration rate, or (3) Low Registration rate.


a message from The VOTER REGISTRATION CENTER AT ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

REGISTER AND MAIL IN YOUR FORM TODAY

Jonathan:

If you have never registered to vote before or have moved since you last registered, you need to register today. Registering to vote is easy. No need to go to an office or wait in line. Just click here .

Be sure you fill out a voter registration application here and mail in your form, so you can vote in the upcoming elections.

If you have already registered to vote, then please forward this notice to your friends.

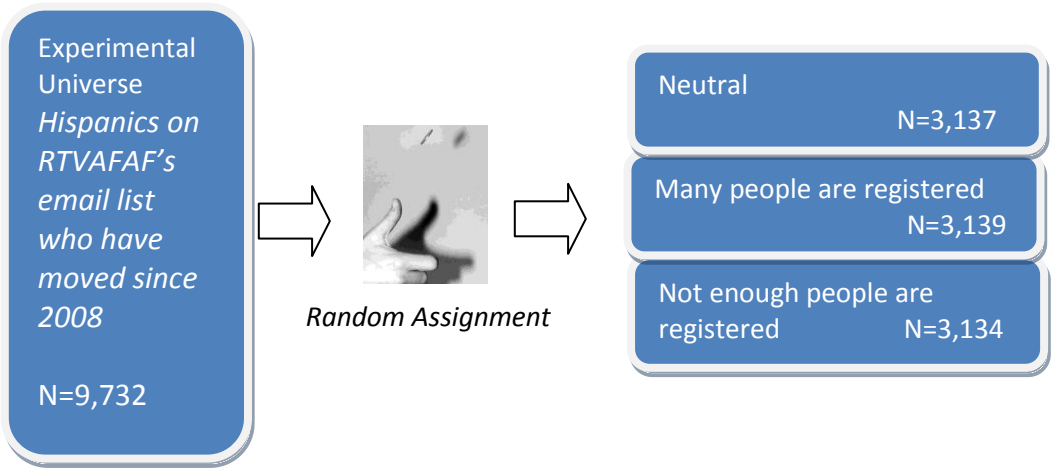
-- The Rock the Vote Action Fund Voter Registration Center

Example of Neutral Message

Each email included text encouraging targets to reregister, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition to reinforce the message type, based on a messaging concept from social psychology about social norms. Information was gathered from

23 Democracia Ahora declined to participate in the email experiments because their email list of highly engaged political activists is not well-suited for registration research.

unique URLs on registration rate, as well as open rate and clickthrough rate. For more details on the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on email experiments in the Methods section.



Results

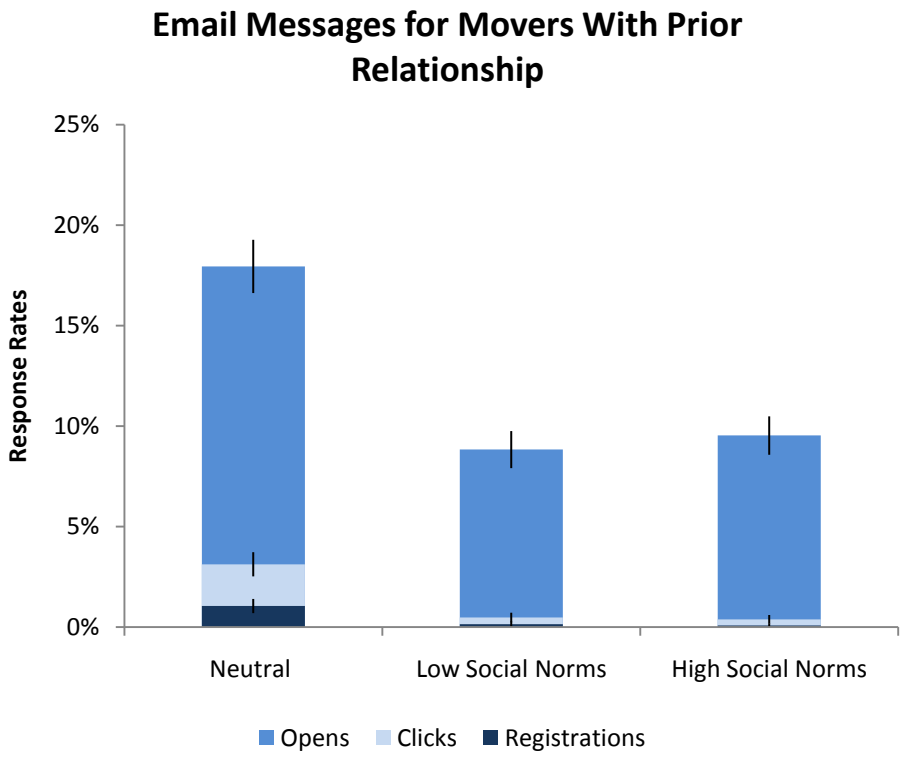
3.2% of individuals receiving the Neutral email clicked on the link, with 0.9% registering through Rock the Vote's voter registration website. Individuals in the High and Low Registration rate conditions clicked on a link at an average rate of 0.5%, with 0.1% completing registration forms.

In this test, the Neutral message proved to be almost twice as effective as the High and Low Registration rate treatments in terms of open rates, and close to ten times more effective in terms of clickthroughs and registrations. We are highly confident that these results are statistically significant (p <0 .001).

The table below reports the raw numbers and response rates for each condition. The chart following displays the response rates with the error bars illustrating 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

Treatment	**Emailed**	**Opens**		**Clicks[24] (valid)**		**Registrations started (valid)**		**Completed Registrations (valid)**	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Neutral	3,225	579	18.0%	101	3.1%	34	1.1%	29	0.9%
Low Registration Social norms	3,297	261	7.9%	16	0.5%	5	0.2%	2	0.1%
High Registration Social norms	3,298	283	8.6%	13	0.4%	3	0.1%	3	0.1%
Total	9,820	1,123	11.4%	130	1.3%	42	0.4%	34	0.3 %

24 This value refers to distinct individuals who clicked. We correct for cases when a distinct individual clicked multiple times.



Future Research

Future research should be conducted using other organizations' email lists to determine whether this finding is generalizable across organizations, or is specific to Rock the Vote.

What does it mean?

The Neutral email treatment dominated the High and Low registration conditions in terms of open rate, clickthrough rate, and registration rate. This result is consistent with findings in direct mail messaging research for movers conducted by WVWVAF and Rock the Vote, which suggests that this finding is potentially generalizable across modes of communication. That said, it is still important that we now determine through experiments whether the Neutral email is more effective because of its neutral aesthetic, its neutral content, or both.

It is important to note that the universe for this experiment, Hispanic movers on RTVAF's email list, already had a prior relationship with the organization conducting the outreach.

This experiment also showed that messaging conveying different social norm information did not have any impact on target action-taking.

Experiment 2: Cultural Identity Email Messaging for Movers with a Prior Relationship

Actionable Findings

- Neutral messaging worked best for emailing people who already have a relationship with an organization

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about progressivity was collected for this specific experiment. However, the individuals targeted were Hispanics already on Rock The Vote's email lists.

Research Question

Among Hispanic movers already on a c(3) organization's email list, which email messages have a higher rate of opens, clickthroughs, and re-registrations?

Background Research

Social psychology research has found that emphasizing a certain identity can be effective at influencing an individual's motivation to participate in identity-relevant behavior. This experiment tests whether Hispanic identity can be effective at generating voter registrations through emails.

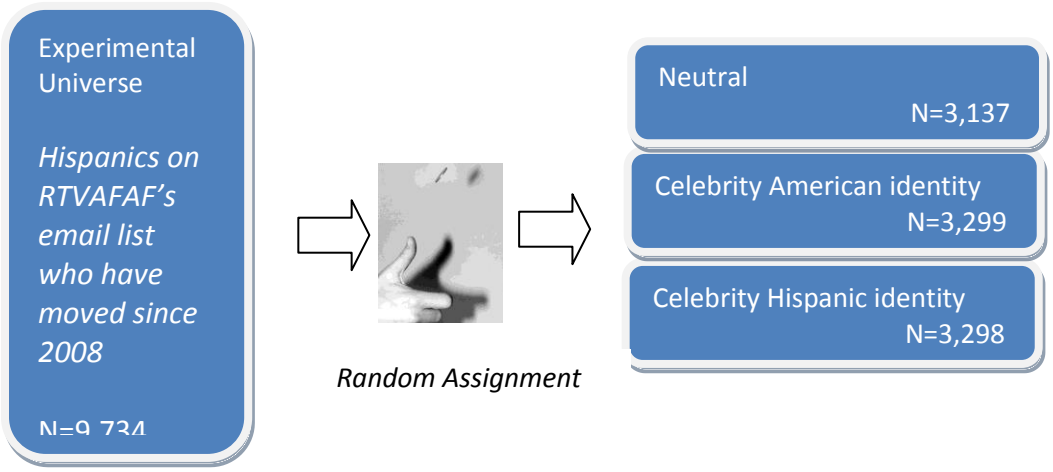
Groups Involved

Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF)

Design

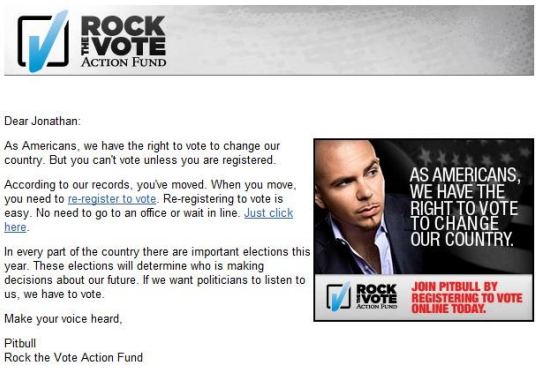
The universe for people in this experiment includes Hispanic movers on RTVAF's email list. The targets were randomly assigned to receive one of three types of email messages: (1) Neutral, (2) Celebrity American Identity, or (3) Celebrity Hispanic Identity.

Each email included text encouraging targets to re-register, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition to reinforce the message type, based on a messaging concept from social psychology about identity emphasis combined with presence of Cuban-American musician Pitbull. Information was gathered from unique URLs on registration rate, open rate, and clickthrough rate. For more details on the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on email experiments in the Methods section. The conditions are summarized in the diagram below.



Results

3.2% of individuals receiving the Neutral email clicked on the link, with 0.9% registering through Rock the Vote's voter registration website. Among the Celebrity Cultural Identity conditions, an average of 0.6% of individuals clicked on a link, with 0.1% completing registration forms.

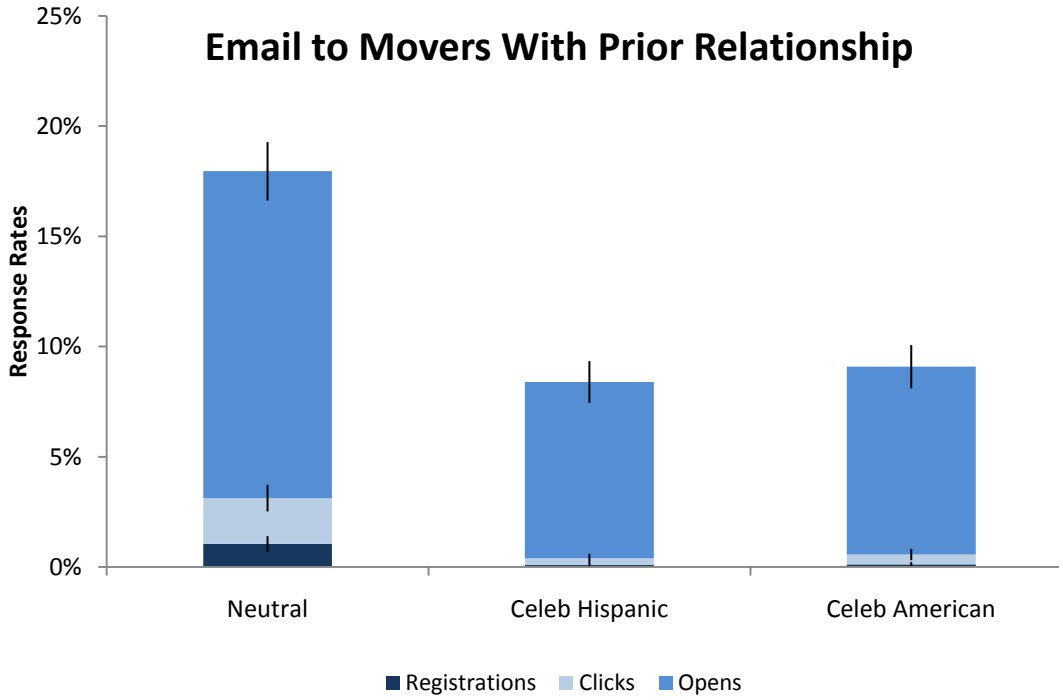


Example of Celebrity American Identity condition

In this test the Neutral message proved to be almost twice as effective at open rates as the Cultural Identity treatments, and close to ten times more effective at generating both clicks and registrations. We are highly confident that the Neutral message is more effective at opens, clickthroughs, and reregistrations ($p < .001$ for each comparison).

The table below reports the raw numbers and response rates for each condition. The chart following displays the response rates with the error bars illustrating 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

Treatment	Emailed	Opens		Clicks[25]		Registrations started		Completed Registrations	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Neutral	3,137	579	18.0%	101	3.2%	34	1.1%	29	0.9%
Celeb Hispanic Identity	3,298	277	8.4%	13	0.4%	3	0.1%	3	0.1%
Celeb American Identity	3,299	300	9.1%	19	0.6%	4	0.1%	3	0.1%
Total	9,734	1,156	11.9%	133	1.4%	41	0.4%	35	0.4%



Future Research

Future research should be conducted using other organizations' email lists to determine whether this finding is generalizable across organizations or specific to Rock the Vote.

What does it mean?

The Neutral email treatment dominated the Cultural Identity conditions in terms of open rate, click through rate, and registration rate. This result is consistent with findings in direct mail messaging research for movers conducted by WVWVAF and Rock the Vote, which suggests that this finding is potentially generalizable across modes of

25 Individual people who clicked. Records of each click revealed that some people clicked multiple times.

communication. That said, it is still important that we now determine through experiments whether the Neutral email is more effective because of its neutral aesthetic, its neutral content, or both.

It is important to note that the universe for this experiment, Hispanic movers on RTVAFAF's email list, already had a prior relationship with the organization conducting the outreach.

This experiment also showed that messaging conveying different social norm information did not have any impact on target action-taking.

Experiment 3: Email Messaging for Movers Without a Prior Relationship

Actionable Findings

- No tested email message was effective when targeting individuals who did not have a prior relationship with the sending organization

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about progressivity was collected for this specific experiment.

Research Question

Among Hispanic movers not on a c(3) organization's email list, which email messages have a higher rate of opens, clickthroughs, and re-registrations?

Background Research

Prior research suggests that people may be more responsive to messages from organizations or people that they recognize. However, if we could prove this works without a prior relationship, any organization could buy targeted emails lists and replicate this method.

Groups Involved

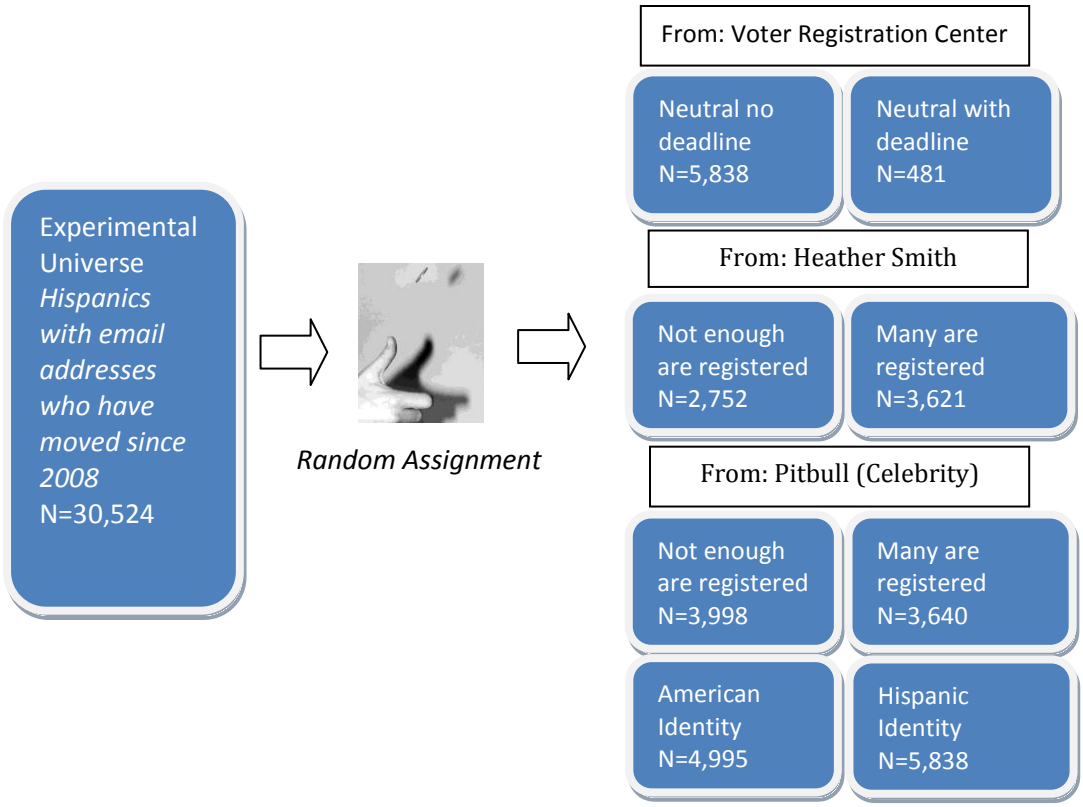
Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF)

Design

In the previous experiments, emails were sent from RTVAF to people who had chosen to join their mailing list—likely through registering to vote with the Rock the Vote Action Fund online voter registration tool—and thus were familiar with Rock the Vote Action Fund as an organization generally. For this experiment, emails from RTVAF were sent to Hispanic movers provided by Catalist, meaning that the targets did not necessarily have a prior relationship with Rock the Vote or RTVAF.

Example of High Registration Social Norms Message

Each person was randomly assigned to receive one of seven types of email messages. Five of the seven email conditions were similar to those used in the previous experiment. The seven conditions are presented in the diagram below.



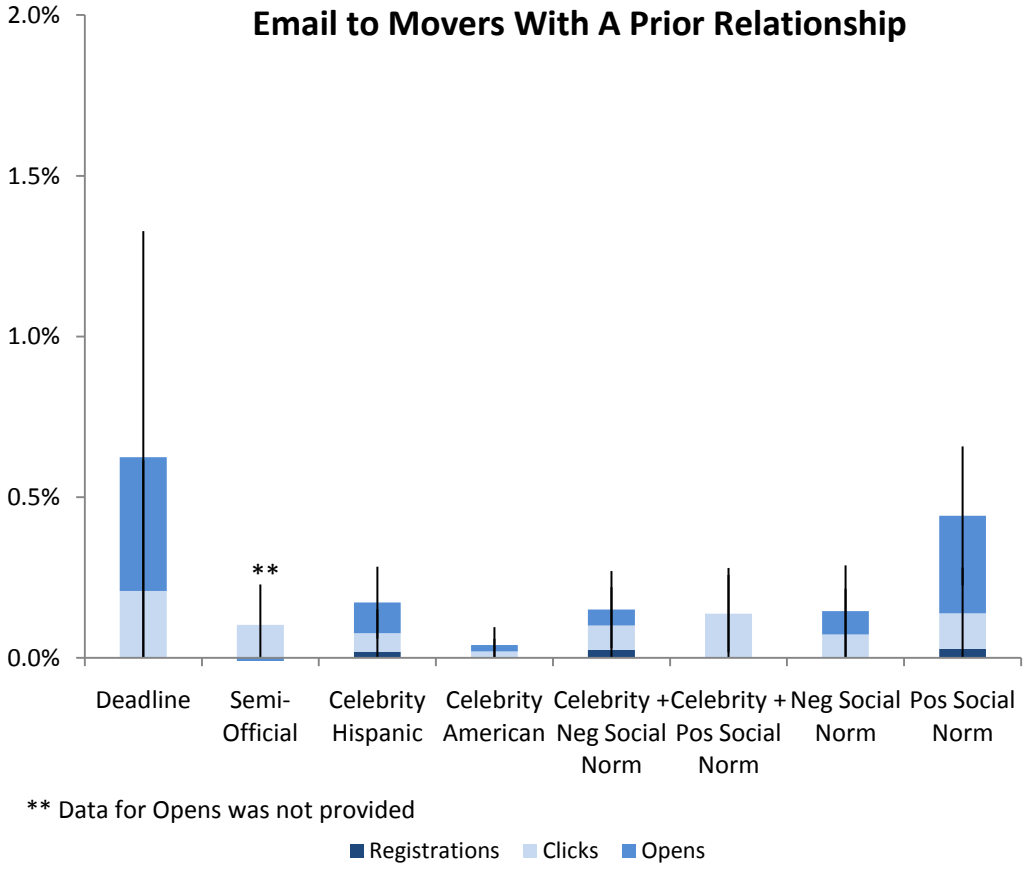
As before, each email included text encouraging targets to reregister, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition to reinforce the message type, based on messaging concepts from social psychology and, in limited cases, testing the effect of emphasizing an upcoming primary registration deadline. The sender and subject line also varied. Information was gathered from unique URLs on registration rate, as well as open rate and clickthrough rate. For more details on the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on email experiments in the Methods section.

Results

The overall rate of email opens, clickthroughs, and registrations for this experiment was very low. Overall, just 0.15% of people were recorded as having opened the email, less than 1 out of 700. Only three registered online, less than 1 in 10,000.

The table below reports the raw numbers and response rates for each condition. The chart following displays the response rates with the error bars illustrating 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

Treatment	Emailed	Opened		Clicks		Registrations	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Deadline	481	3	0.6%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%
Neutral	5,838	0	0.0%	3	0.1%	0	0.0%
Celeb Hispanic	5,244	9	0.2%	4	0.1%	1	0.0%
Celeb American	4,995	2	0.0%	1	0.0%	0	0.0%
Celeb Low Registrations	3,998	6	0.2%	3	0.1%	1	0.0%
Celeb High Registrations	3,640	5	0.1%	4	0.1%	0	0.0%
Low Registrations	2,752	4	0.1%	1	0.0%	0	0.0%
High Registrations	3,621	16	0.4%	4	0.1%	1	0.0%
Total	30,569	45	0.2%	21	0.1%	3	0.0%



Future Research

Research in other domains suggests that neutral-looking messages lead to higher response rates, even if those messages come from organizations that recipients do not recognize and have no prior relationship to. However in this experiment neutral looking messages had no detectable impact. Future research could investigate whether different modes of communication affect the impact of neutral messages.

What does it mean?

None of the treatments were significantly different from zero. This null finding suggests that email delivered to individuals with no prior relationship to a C(3) or C(4) organization is likely to have no effect.

An important take-away is that both an active email list, and a relationship between the members and an organization, matter significantly in email registration efforts.

Experiment 4: Email Messaging for Non-registered Individuals

Actionable Findings

- No tested email message was effective when targeting individuals who did not have a prior relationship with the sending organization

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about progressivity was collected for this specific experiment.

Research Question

Among non-registered Hispanics, which email messages have a higher rate of progressive registrations?

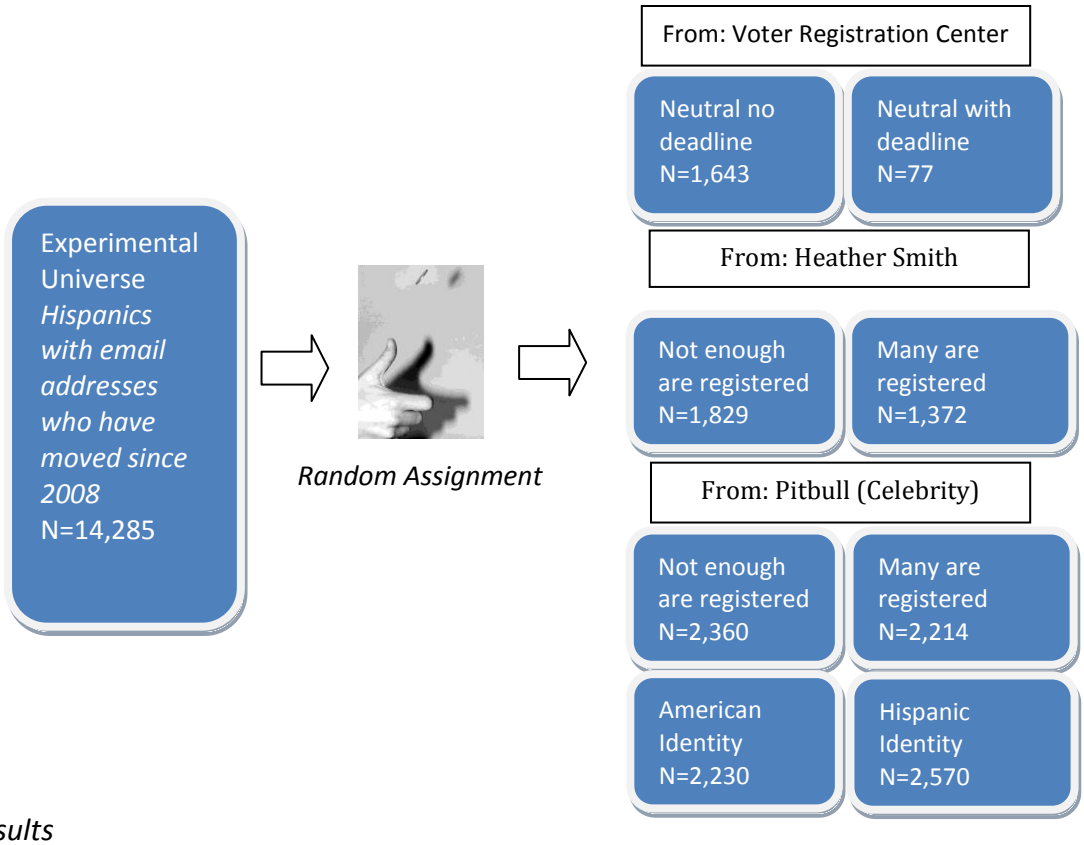
Background Research

The principle motivation for this experiment was to determine the effectiveness of various voter registration messages for Hispanic citizens in the general population. Specifically, a large portion of the general public is not registered to vote and has not signed up to receive emails from a politically oriented organization. This population is likely to be less interested in voting overall, and therefore may require different strategies to attract attention or provoke a response. This experiment is amongst un-registered voters, as opposed to those who have moved and need to re-register.

Groups Involved
Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF)

Design

The emails sent were identical to those used in Experiment 2. They are illustrated in the figure below. For more details on the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on email experiments in the Methods section.



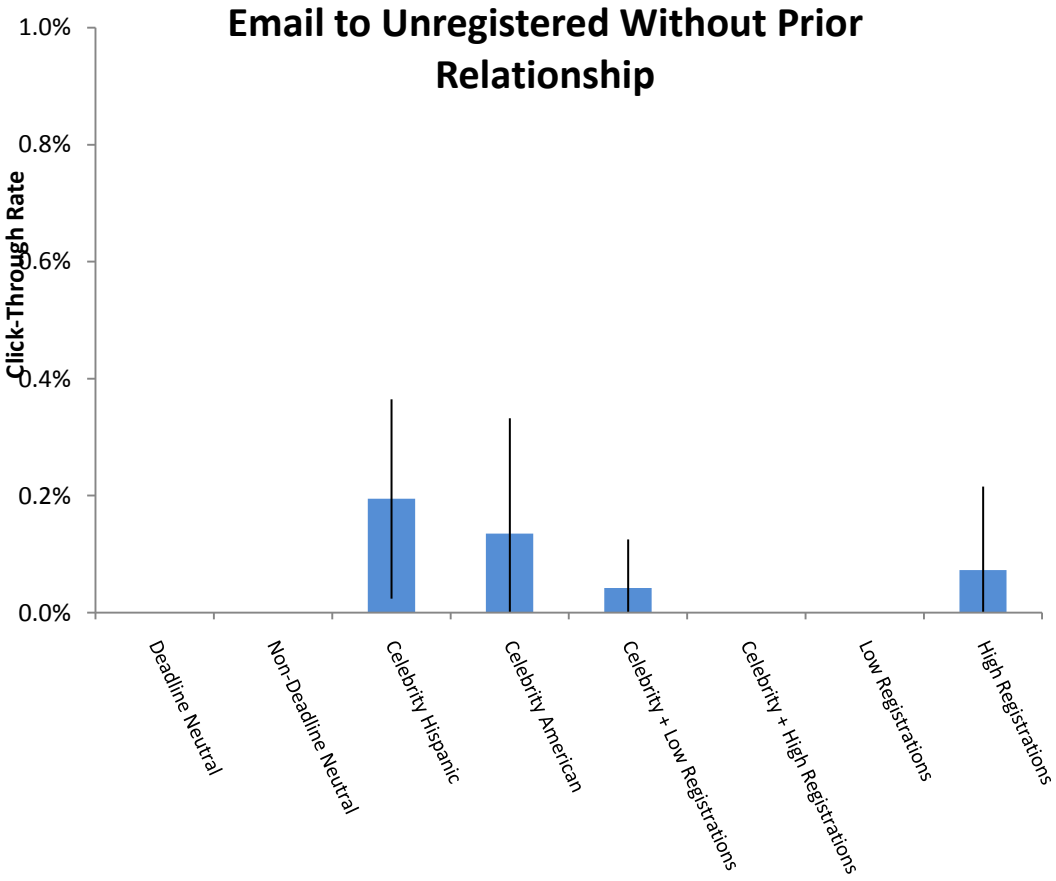
Results

Only data regarding clicks and registrations was available for this population, but there were very few recorded registrations. The overall rate of clicks is very low (0.07%), though no lower than that found from emails sent to Hispanic movers. Only a handful of registrations from this population were recorded through Rock the Vote's voter registration website.

The rate of clicks was highest from emails in the celebrity Hispanic Identity condition (0.19%). A post-hoc t-test comparing the click rate from this condition to the others showed a statistically significant difference (p=0.02). However, because we did not hypothesize that this specific condition would be different from the others, confidence in this finding is greatly reduced.

The table below reports the raw numbers and clickthrough response rates for each condition. The chart following displays the response rates with the error bars illustrating 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

Treatment	Emailed	Clicks	
		n	%
Neutral Deadline Notification	77	0	0.0%
Neutral General Reminder	1,643	0	0.0%
Celebrity Hispanic Identity	2,570	5	0.2%
Celebrity American Identity	2,230	2	0.1%
Celeb Low Registrations	2,360	1	0.0%
Celeb High Registrations	2,214	0	0.0%
Low Registrations	1,829	0	0.0%
High Registrations	1,372	1	0.1%
Total	14,285	9	0.1%



Future Research

Future research should replicate this experiment during a time when voting issues have greater salience. In this experiment, an email referencing Hispanic identity sent by a well-known Hispanic celebrity had the highest rate of clickthroughs. A higher overall rate of response would reveal whether this difference is reliable.

What does it mean?

The overall low response rate is not surprising given that the emails were sent during a low registration period to people having no specific interest in voting. In essence, these emails were spam, so the fact that there was any response whatsoever is encouraging. However, because there are costs associated with the purchase of email lists, this method may not be the most cost effective way of reaching this population.

Once again, a relationship between the potential voter and the organization seems to matter.

Web-based

Experiment 1: Social Norms Banner Ad Messaging

Actionable Findings

- Neutral messaging, unlike with direct mail and email, was *not* the most effective messaging for banner ads

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about individual progressivity was collected for this specific experiment. However, websites identified as likely to be viewed by progressives were targeted.

Research Question

Is emphasizing high registrations rates more effective than emphasizing low registration rates at generating clickthroughs for banner ads encouraging registration?

Research Question

Is emphasizing that lots of others have registered more effective than emphasizing that few others have registered at generating click-throughs for banner ads encouraging registration?

Background Research

A first motivation was to begin to better understand the quickly evolving and potentially fertile online space, and how advertising—whether on YouTube, Facebook, Google, or on websites like Univision or Pandora—can be leveraged to motivate voter registration amongst a targeted audience. The questions about best methods are limitless, as little experimentation has been done outside of Rock the Vote's tests in 2008 on MSN and Facebook targeting African-American voters. Furthermore, the sophistication of online advertising has increased immensely in the past two years. These experiments began the process of developing best practices in many areas, including—but not limited to—what size ads to use on which sites, targeting methods for race, geography, age, and progressive values for various platform types, targeting message content depending on the website and platform type, and how to set up ad buys using cost-per-click (CPC) versus cost-per-impression (CPM) pricing.

A second motivation for this experiment was to test in the domain of banner ads the same research question being studied in separate experiments as part of this project in the domains of mail and email. This is why the messaging treatments used in this banner ad experiment overlap with the messaging treatments used in the direct mail and email experiments.

If the results from this experiment resemble those from the mail and email experiments then we would have much more confidence in the generalizability of the findings.

If the results from this experiment differ from the mail and email experiments then it

would suggest that the mode of communication affects which kind of messaging is most effective and we should be especially careful about generalizing findings across modes.

In previous voter registration research, emphasizing that lots of others are voting increases motivation to vote relative to emphasizing the few others are voting. The present experiment tests whether emphasizing those lots of others have registered to vote generates more clickthroughs for banner ads encouraging voter registration than emphasizing that not many have.

Groups involved

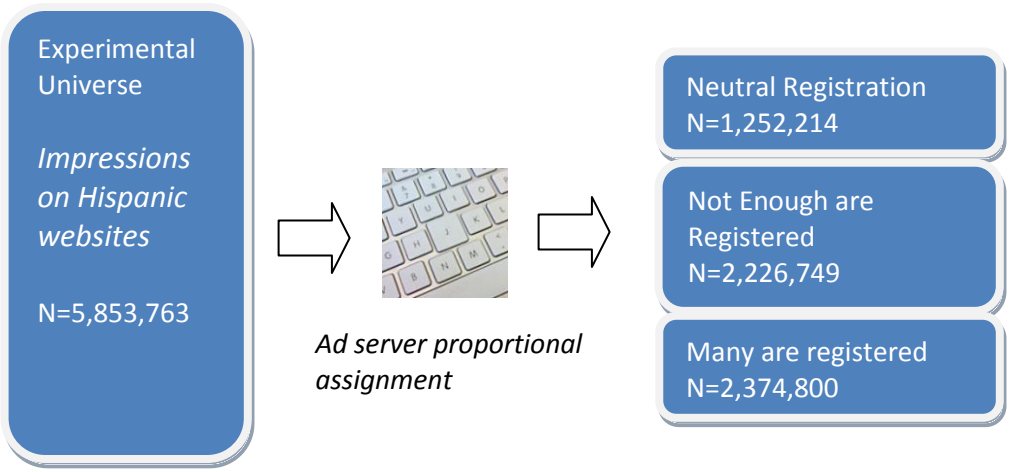
Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF)

Design

For this experiment a range of Hispanic-oriented websites were identified by RTVAF with support from an online advertising agency and pro-bono advertising account staff and analysts from Google. RTVAF worked with these online advertising professionals to identify sites that were likely to reach progressive Hispanics. For a more detailed description of this process and the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on banner ads in the Method section.

Example of Low Registration condition

Three types of banner ads were assigned to the audiences of these websites with equal probability.[26] The types of ads emphasized distinct messages, varrying in their imagery and text, and are based on messaging concepts developed out of social psychology. The messages are summarized in the diagram below. For a more detailed description of the conditions, please see the discussion on banner ads in the Method section.



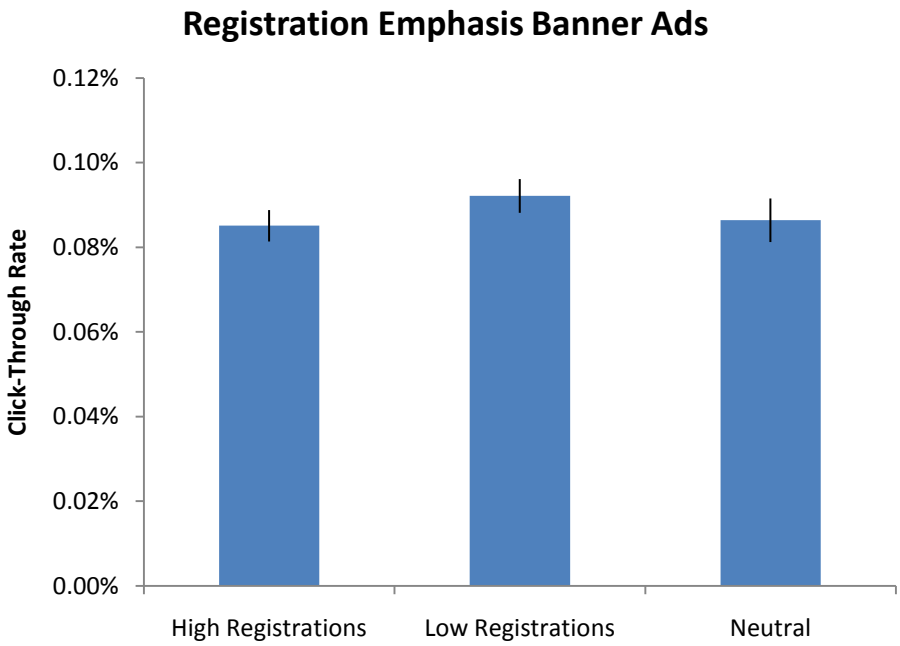
[26] About half of the ads assigned to the generic registration condition were not shown due to an error with the ad agency. See logistics notes for more detail.

Results

Overall, the Not Enough Are Registered treatment was the most successful, generating a 0.092% clickthrough rate. This was higher than the Many Are Registered treatment and the generic condition, but the difference is only suggestive ($p<0.1$). The Many Are Registered treatment generated a 0.085% clickthrough rate, which is not significantly different than the generic message.

The table below reports the raw numbers and response rates for each condition. The chart following displays the response rates with 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

Treatment	Impressions	Responses	
		n	%
Neutral	1,252,214	1,082	0.086%
High Registration	2,374,800	2,021	0.085%
Low Registration	2,226,740	2,052	0.092%
Total	5,853,763	5,155	0.088%



Future Research

The next set of experiments could take these findings and begin to explore them further. For example, are there variations on the most effective 'progressive values' targeting methods using contextual ads, keywords and comScores that can be refined further? Which ads (by size and message) worked best on which types of website (rather than overall), and did this differ based on age or gender? Also, can these initial findings inform more specific message testing on different types of websites (i.e., music-

related sites versus political sites, or sites with high Hispanic viewership but low penetration versus sites with lower impressions but higher Hispanic penetration)? The clickthrough rates were high on Spanish and bi-lingual websites; would running the ads in Spanish produce even higher clickthrough rates?[27]

Another area for further research that online advertising allows is the re-targeting of CPC ads to exclusively target those who had visited the RTVAF site, but did not register or sign-up.

Finally, this experiment was designed to examine clickthrough rates as a proxy for registration rates. Under this design, we assume that differences in actual registration rate for each condition are proportional to the differences in click-through rate. Such an assumption may not be valid, which could be addressed by future research.

What does it mean?

Emphasizing that not enough young Hispanics are registered to vote was the most effective message in this experiment, but the difference between it and the generic message is marginally significant.

This experiment took descriptive social norms messaging insights from other domains and applied them to online banner ads encouraging targets to register to vote. While we detected a small effect, more research is necessary to confirm that "low registration" is a more effective message for generating clickthroughs than "high registration" messaging.

This is a surprising finding given the weight of research in behavioral science suggesting that we should have found the opposite effect. The fact that this finding is the opposite of what we hypothesized illustrates why experimental testing is so important: we should not take for granted that something discovered in one domain is necessarily true in another.

[27] Democracia Ahora attempted to run a test comparing English-language ads with Spanish-language ads, but the test was rendered invalid by implementation problems with Google.

Experiment 2: Cultural Identity Banner Ad Messaging

Actionable Findings

- Neutral messaging, unlike with direct mail and email, was *not* the most effective messaging for banner ads
- Celebrity endorsed banner ads worked best, and the specific details mattered. For this test, appealing to Hispanic identity increased clickthroughs relative to appealing to American identity, especially when a Hispanic celebrity was a part of the banner ad

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about individual progressivity was collected for this specific experiment. However, websites identified as likely to be viewed by progressives were targeted.

Research Questions

1. Which method is more effective at generating banner ad clickthroughs: emphasizing Hispanic identity, emphasizing American identity or no identity emphasis at all?
2. Does adding a prominent Hispanic celebrity to a banner ad encouraging voter registration increase registration rates?
3. Is the Hispanic identity banner ad even more effective at encouraging registration when it includes a prominent Hispanic celebrity?

Background Research

Social psychology research has found that emphasizing a certain identity can be effective at influencing an individual's motivation to participate in identity-relevant behavior. This experiment was designed to test whether Hispanic identity can be effective at generating banner ad clickthroughs for voter registration appeals among young Hispanics, and to test the impact of prominent Hispanic advocates encouraging targets to register to vote.

One motivation for this experiment was to test in the domain of banner ads the same research question being studied in separate experiments as part of this project in the domains of mail and email. This is why some of the treatments used in this banner ad experiment are nearly identical--in terms of messaging content--to the treatments used in the direct mail and email experiments.

If the results from this experiment resemble those from the mail and email experiments then we would have much more confidence in the generalizability of the findings.

If the results from this experiment differ from the mail and email experiments then it would suggest that the mode of communication affects which kind of messaging is most effective.

Also, as noted in the previous experiment, another motivation was to better understand

the quickly evolving and potentially fertile online space, and how advertising—whether on YouTube, Facebook, Google or on websites like Univision or Pandora—can be leveraged to motivate voter registration amongst a targeted audience. The questions about best methods are limitless, as little experimentation has been done outside of Rock the Vote's tests in 2008 on MSN and Facebook targeting African-American voters, and the sophistication of online advertising has increased immensely even in the past two years. These experiments began the process of developing best practices for many things including—but not limited to—what size ads to use on which sites, targeting methods for race, geography, age and progressive values for various platform types, targeting message content depending on the website and platform type, and how to set up ad buys using cost-per-click (CPC) versus cost-per-impression (CPM) pricing.

Example of Celebrity Hispanic Identity condition

Groups involved

Rock the Vote Action Fund (RTVAF)

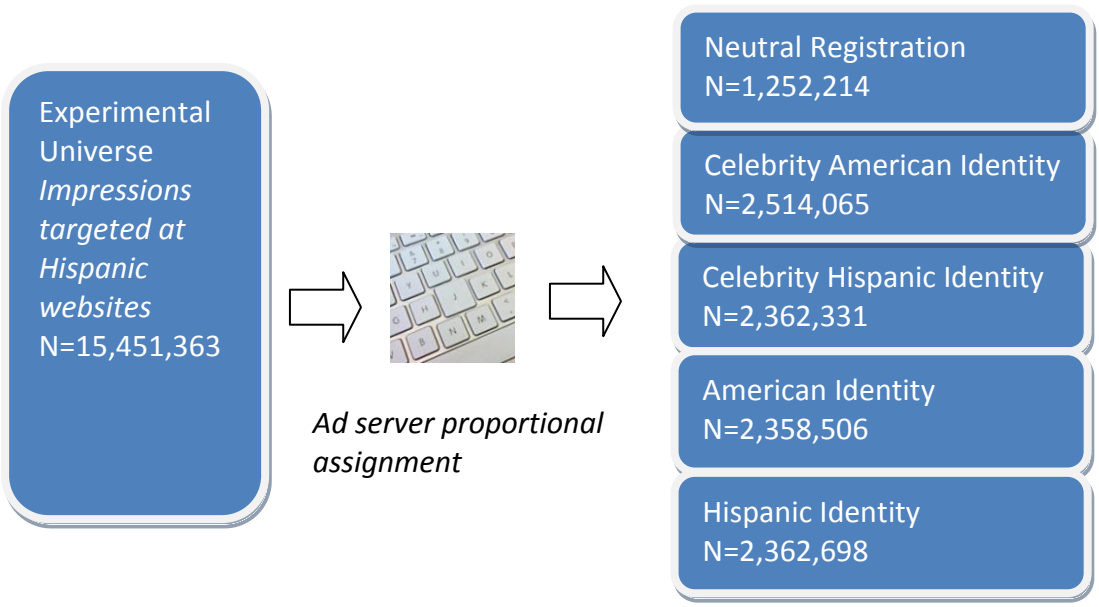
Design

As with the prior experiment, for this experiment a range of Hispanic-oriented websites were identified by RTVAF with support from an online advertising agency and pro-bono advertising account staff and analysts from Google. RTVAF worked with these online advertising professionals to identify sites that were likely to reach progressive Hispanics. For a more detailed description of this process and the treatment conditions, please see the discussion on banner ads in the Method section.

Three types of banner ads were assigned to the audiences of these websites with equal probability.[28] The types of ads emphasized distinct messages, varrying in their imagery and text. The messages are based on messaging concepts developed out of social psychology, as well as the use of Cuban-American musician Pitbull. A factorialized design was used to isolate the effect of a celebrity independent of emphasizing cultural identity. The messages are summarized in the diagram below.

For the ad messages, two baseline cultural identity treatments were used. For the American Identity treatment an image of a crowd at an immigration reform rally was paired with text encouraging individuals to register as American. The Hispanic Identity treatment changes the word Americans for Hispanics, but is otherwise exactly the same.

[28] About half of the ads assigned to the generic registration condition were not shown due to an error with the ad agency. See logistics notes for more detail.

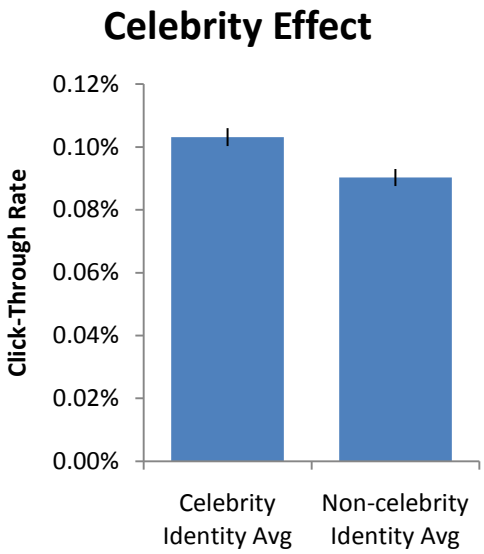


Two celebrity identity treatments included the exact same messages described above, but with an image of Cuban-American musician Pitbull replacing the image of the rally. These treatments were included for two reasons. The first is to examine whether a Hispanic celebrity amplifies any Hispanic identity message effect. The second is to isolate whether adding a prominent Hispanic advocate increases registration, independent of message. This experiment had a factorialized design such that a banner ad (1) included an image of Pitbull or an immigration reform rally and (2) emphasized either Hispanic identity or American identity.

Example of American Identity condition

Results

Analysis regarding the first research question shows that emphasizing Hispanic identity is more effective than emphasizing no identity, but not significantly different from emphasizing



American identity. The non-celebrity Hispanic identity treatment is not significantly different from the non-celebrity American identity treatment (0.092% to 0.089%, p=0.28). The non-celebrity Hispanic identity treatment is 7% more effective than the generic treatment, a suggestive finding that needs more research to confirm (p<0.1).[29]

Celebrity + Identity Interaction

	Celebrity	Non-Celebrity	Average
American	0.098% *N=2,514,065*	0.089% *N=2,358,506*	0.093%
Hispanic	0.109% *N=2,362,331*	0.092% *N=2,62,698*	0.100%
Average	0.103%	0.090%	

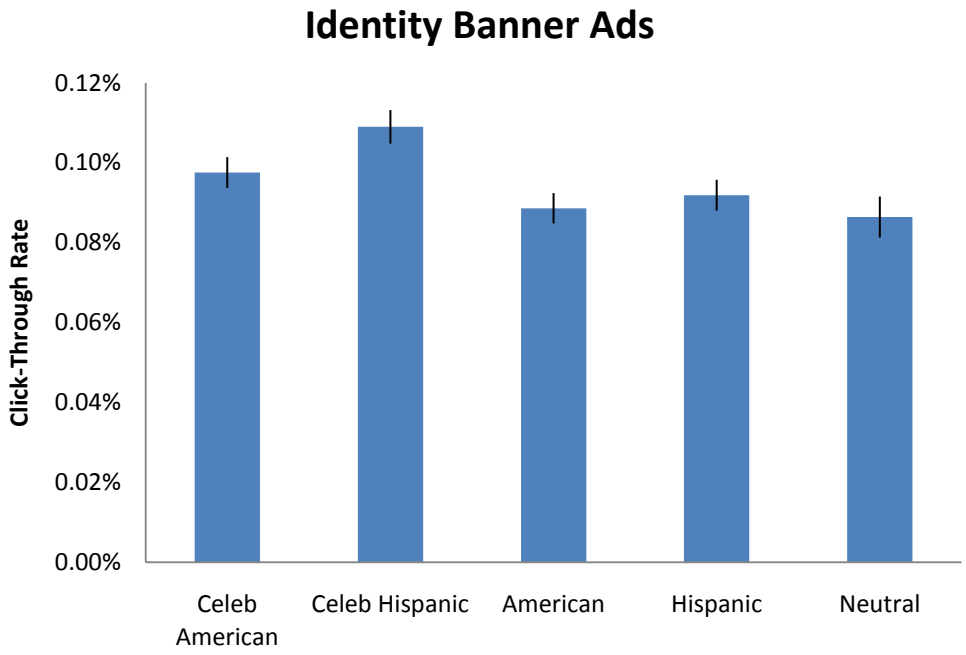
The second research question asked whether there is a celebrity effect for increasing registration. We are highly confident that the identity messages with a celebrity outperformed the identity message without a celebrity. The average clickthrough rate across the two identity treatment conditions with the celebrity component is 0.103% as compared to a 0.090% clickthrough rate average across the two non-celebrity identity conditions. This 13% "celebrity lift" is highly significant (p<0.01).

For the third research question, we found that using a Hispanic celebrity does significantly increase the effectiveness of a Hispanic identity message. As is shown in the table above, the Hispanic identity condition generates a higher clickthrough rate independent of whether there is a celebrity or not. However the difference between Hispanic and American identity treatments *without* a celebrity is not significantly different (p=0.28). When the identity treatments are interacted with the presence of a celebrity, the difference between means for the identity treatments is more than three times as large (a 0.011% difference vs. a 0.003% difference). This 0.008% lift for the celebrity Hispanic identity condition over the celebrity American identity condition is highly significant (p<0.01), and is strong evidence that a Hispanic celebrity amplified the effect of a Hispanic identity appeal.

The table below reports the raw numbers and response rates for each condition. The subsequent chart displays the response rates with error bars corresponding to 95% confidence intervals, as determined by t-tests.

[29] Analysis of these small differences is confounded by the fact that the identity ads have pictures, while the generic ad does not. However, evidence from the Social Norms Banner Ad Messaging experiment suggests that the effect of having a picture is marginal.

Treatment	Impressions	Responses	
		n	%
Neutral	1,252,214	1,082	0.086%
Celebrity American Identity	2,514,065	2,453	0.098%
Celebrity Hispanic Identity	2,362,331	2,575	0.109%
American Identity	2,358,506	2,090	0.089%
Hispanic Identity	2,362,698	2,171	0.092%
Total	10,849,814	10,371	0.096%



Future research

Adding Pitbull increased clickthrough rates; would this effect hold with other prominent Hispanic celebrities? Pitbull was chosen for a number of reasons, including a history of being engaged in charity efforts focused on voting as well as having a popular song amongst Hispanic youth at the time the ads ran. (He was featured on the Latino MySpace homepage a few weeks prior to the experiment, and his most popular song's video has over 130 million views on YouTube.) What criteria are there for celebrity spokespeople to be most effective? And amongst which types of voters? Would prominent Hispanics also amplify the effect of "low registration rate" messaging relative to "high registration rate" messaging? Would a prominent Hispanic affect the impact of C(3) or C(4) messaging in similar ways?

An additional question for future research is whether a celebrity effect is linked to cultural consonance. For instance, would a Pitbull ad campaign targeted at young Asian-Americans be as effective as a Pitbull ad campaign targeted at Hispanic Americans?

Further exploration of CPC and CPM rich Display ads (also known as Flash) as well as video on YouTube and top video sites is warranted, under the theory that in a broadcast approach, the celebrity ad was able to grab attention, increasing its effectiveness. Would other flash or display-rich ads have the same effect?

Also, celebrity creative performed the best (on pages full of closely affiliated entertainment content, such as the Latino Music section of YouTube, as well as non-entertainment placements). It would be worth exploring if there were demographic differences among those ages 18-29 who engaged with the celebrity creative.

This experiment was designed to examine click-through rates as a proxy for registration rates. Under this design, we assume that differences in actual registration rate for each condition are proportional to the differences in click-through rate. Such an assumption may not be valid, which could be addressed by future research.

What does it mean?

The celebrity Hispanic identity treatment was the most effective at generating clickthroughs, and both celebrity identity treatments were more effective than the corresponding non-celebrity identity treatments. Using a Hispanic celebrity appears to amplify the effectiveness of a Hispanic identity message.

Site-based

Experiment 1: C(3) vs. C(4) Messaging

Actionable Findings

- C(4) messaging created more net Democratic registrations per hour
- C(4) messaging did not create more net progressive registrations per hour

Progressivity of Registrants

Individuals reached through this experiment answered the most progressive response 65% of the time in our survey of issue positions.

Research questions

1. Does C(3) or C(4) site-based canvassing targeted at Hispanic neighborhoods generate more registration cards per hour?
2. Does C(3) or C(4) site-based canvassing targeted at Hispanic neighborhoods generate registrations with a higher proportion of Democratic voters?
3. Does C(3) or C(4) site-based canvassing targeted at Hispanic neighborhoods generate registrations with a higher proportion of progressive voters?

Background research from other areas

Previous research conducted by the Analyst Institute found no difference between C(3) and C(4) messaging for site-based canvassing in terms of cards/hour and proportion of registrants who were progressive. This research was conducted during the summer of 2008 in Colorado and New Mexico. There were several limitations to the 2008 research. The most important limitation from the perspective of this study was that it used a method of assessing progressivity that identified nearly all registrants across conditions as progressive. The current research expands on this limitation by having more sensitive measures of progressivity, and is conducted at a different electoral moment.

The present experiment was designed to compare C(3) and C(4) site-based registrations efforts that were as different as possible.

Groups involved

Campaign for Community Change, Colorado Progressive Action.

Thanks to Democracia Ahora for help with development of the survey instrument.

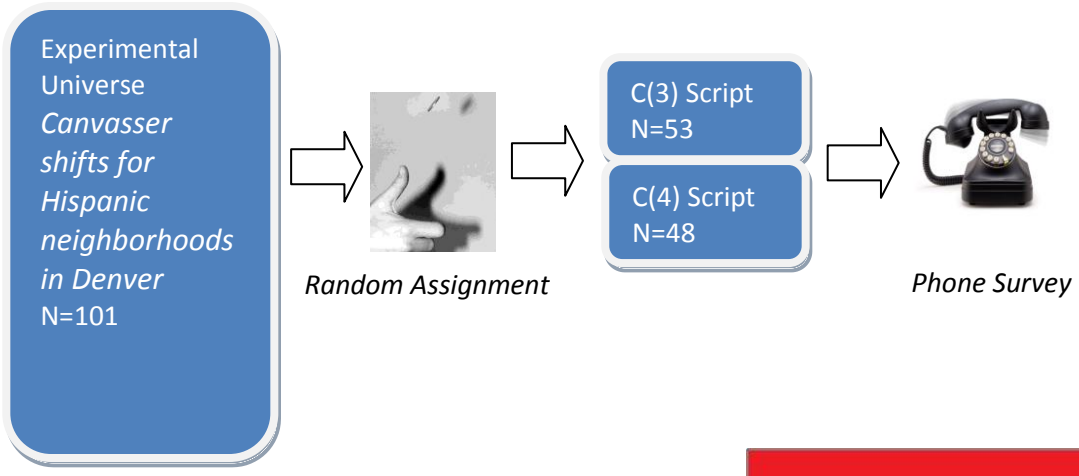
Design

For this experiment Hispanic neighborhoods in the Denver metropolitan area were chosen by a field organization experienced in Hispanic voter registration work. They were randomly assigned to receive a C(3) or C(4) registration recruitment script. All of those registered were called to receive a follow-up phone survey to determine their level of progressivity. A fraction (17%) of those registered completed the survey.

C(4) t-shirt logo

The logistics of implementing an efficient site-based registration effort requires that individual canvassers be given the freedom to decide between multiple potential locations within a given neighborhood, depending on the number of registration prospects at any one particular location. Therefore, it was impractical to randomize at the level of registration site. Randomization was instead conducted at the level of the individual canvasser, by day.

An Analyst Institute staff member travelled to Denver, Colorado to assist with the beginning of the project. Each canvasser was trained in both a C(3) and C(4) registration script, and provided with both a C(3) and a C(4) t-shirt.[30] Prior to starting a canvassing shift the field director drew numbers out a hat to determine whether an individual would use a C(3) or C(4) script.



Random Assignment

Phone Survey

The C(3) script encouraged people to join their fellow Americans in voting in the next election. The C(3) t-shirt was a plain red t-shirt that read "Register to Vote!"

C(3) t-shirt logo

[30] The full C(3) and C(4) scripts are available in Appendix B.

The C(4) script encouraged people to register because Democrats are working hard to improve Latino communities. The C(4) t-shirt was a blue t-shirt that read "Support Progressive Democrats. Register to Vote."

Survey

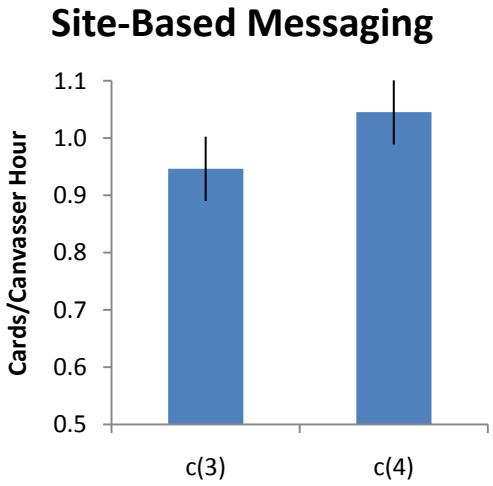
Being progressive is not the same as registering as a Democrat. The follow-up survey was carefully designed to capture progressivity as a distinct quality of an individual, independent of their party preference in vote choice.

The progressivity survey asked respondents for their position on nine political issue questions. The specific issues were selected, in close consultation with leading Hispanic public opinion research firm Bendixen and Amandi, for clear progressive and non-progressive poles. Respondents who completed the survey were matched back to their C(3) or C(4) treatment.

Results

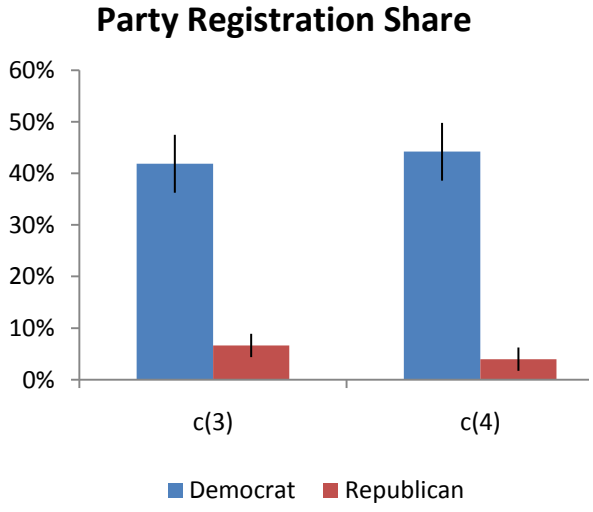
The randomization technique used in this experiment was unusually hands-on. We relied on the field staff to pick numbers out of a hat to determine what script a canvasser would use prior to their shift. A randomization check of the distribution of treatments across canvasser shifts is statistically random by date ($p<0.1$).

The first research question asks which script generated a higher rate of collected registration cards per hour when canvassing Hispanic neighborhoods. A total of 602 cards



Party Registrations

	C(3)	C(4)
Democrat	126	133
Republican	20	12
No Party	147	151
Green	2	2
Libertarian	4	3
Constitution	2	0
Mean Rep. Share	7%	4%
Mean Dem. Share	42%	44%
Net Democrat	35%	40%



were collected over 606 total canvasser hours. C(4) messaging collected an average of 1.05 cards per canvasser hour, compared to 0.95 cards per canvasser hour for C(3) messaging. We are statistically highly confident in this 10% lift for C(4) messaging.

The second research question asks whether the C(4) or C(3) script generated a greater proportion of Democratic registrations.[31]

The formula for counting net registrations is

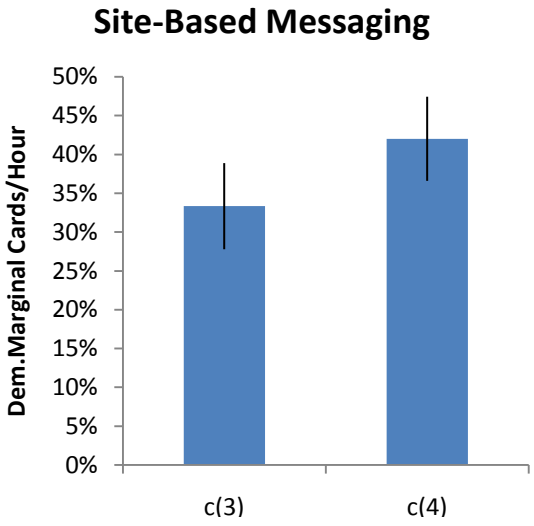
$$\frac{D - R}{(D + R + I)}$$

where D is the number of Democrats, R is the number of Republicans, and I is the number of other registrations. The table above shows that C(4) messaging generates 14% more net Democratic registrations relative to C(3) messaging.

Democrat Reg. Margin per Hour

	C(3)	C(4)	*C(4) % increase*
Democrat Reg. Margin	35%	40%	*14%*
Cards per Hour	0.95	1.05	*11%*
Democrat Reg. Margin / Hour	0.33	0.42	*27%*

The C(4) message has both a higher Democratic registration margin and a higher number of cards collected per hour. Multiplying the Democratic registration margin by the number of cards collected per hour gives us the Democratic registration margin per hour. Comparing the effectiveness of both treatment conditions requires analyzing not their absolute differences, but their relative differences. As can be seen in the chart to the right, we find that for every canvasser hour, C(4) messaging generates Democratic registration margins that are 27% higher than those for C(3) messaging. For every C(3) canvasser hour a 0.33 Democratic registration card advantage was generated, whereas for every C(4) canvasser hour a 0.42 Democratic registration card advantage was generated. We are confident that this difference is significant ($p<0.05$). In other words, C(4) messaging was



[31] For the purpose of analyzing this data, Green Party registrations were counted as Democrats and Constitution Party registrations were counted as Republicans. Libertarian Party registrations were not assigned to either major party.

about one quarter more cost effective than C(3) messaging at generating a Democratic registration advantage.

We should note that one factor that could contribute to the lower rate of Republican registrations in the C(4) condition relative to the C(3) condition could be that canvassers explicitly recruited prospects to register to support (progressive) Democrats. This is a fair concern and we can offer two pieces of evidence to support the validity of our data. First, canvassers explicitly recruited registrants by encouraging them to register to support progressive Democrats, and there was no explicit reference to Republicans. However, there does not appear to be a difference between conditions in the percentage of registrations that are Democratic; the only apparent difference is in the rate of Republican registration. This pattern is not what one would expect if the party registration effects were artifacts of the messaging. Second, the survey data which is reported in the following paragraphs supports the finding that C(4) registered fewer conservatives and more likely Democratic voters.

The third research question is whether C(3) or C(4) messaging generates a higher progressive registration margin. The progressivity of registrants was measured by a phone survey that was conducted after the canvass. Only 17% of registrants completed a survey. This small number (n=100) dramatically limits our ability to draw confident conclusions from the survey data. As such, it can only offer broad insights, and can be used to further test the findings of the previous research question regarding Democratic registration margins across conditions. The following tables display the rate of progressive responses to each issue question by treatment, as well as self-reported political ideology and vote preference.

Question	C(3) *N=44*	C(4) *N=57*	% Change for C(4)
Should the government have a strong role or weak role when it comes to economic issues and creating new jobs?			
Strong	86%	75%	-11%
Should the U.S. have a health care plan run primarily by the government, or does our current private insurance system work well?			
Government	66%	58%	-8%
Should undocumented immigrants be forced to leave the country, or given a path to citizenship?			
Path to Citizenship	64%	73%	+9%
The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are costing us too much. We would be better off bringing our troops home and using the money here in the U.S.			
Agree	72%	82%	+10%
In a tough economy, who should be most responsible for helping people in a rough financial situation, the government or private charities?			
Government	81%	81%	0%
The government should fully fund public schools, community colleges, and universities, even if it means raising taxes.			
Agree	70%	70%	0%

Global warming is an environmental problem that is causing a serious impact now, the impact of global warming won't happen until sometime in the future, or global warming won't have a serious impact at all.			
Serious Impact Now	66%	61%	-5%
Do you support or oppose allowing same sex or gay couples to legally marry?			
Support	63%	46%	-17%
Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, that abortion should be legal only in some special cases, or that abortion should be illegal in all cases?			
Legal All Cases	27%	26%	-1%
ISSUE AVERAGE			-3%

Question	C(3) *N=44*	C(4) *N=56*	% Change for C(4)
Think in political terms, would you say that you are…			
Liberal	16%	14%	-2%
Moderate	11%	12%	+1%
Conservative	23%	14%	-9%
No Political Ideology	50%	60%	+10%
If the election were held today, would you vote for…			
Democrat	39%	53%	+14%
Republican	16%	14%	-2%
Undecided	45%	35%	-10%

According to this data, the average respondent in the C(4) condition is 3% *less* likely to give what we defined as progressive responses to any given issue question than the average respondent in the C(3) condition. The small sample size limits what we can infer from this result: we can only say that there is no detectable difference in progressive issues between respondents who were registered through C(3) and C(4) messaging.

However, other data from this survey are more suggestive. Respondents in the C(4) condition are 10% less likely to self-identify as conservative, and are 9% more likely to self-identify as having no political ideology (p=0.2). Furthermore, respondents in the C(4) condition are 13% more likely than those in C(3) condition to plan on voting for Democrats this November, and 12% less likely to report being undecided (p=0.2).[32] These findings are consistent with the results of the second research question regarding Democratic registration margins across C(3) and C(4) conditions. The fact that these converge increases our confidence that the C(4) messaging did, in fact, increase Democratic registration margins.

We cannot conclude that C(4) messaging generates more progressive registrations. The limited data generated from the completed surveys tentatively suggests that C(4) messaging does generate more Democratic registrations.

[32] These significance levels are the results of t-tests.

Future research

It is not clear whether targeted canvass, even at the broad level of Hispanic neighborhoods, is the most efficient use of resources. In a competitive election environment, it may instead be more effective for canvassers to pursue locations with the most people, regardless of ethnicity, and expect to register a significant number of Hispanics. Future research could analyze this issue in more detail.

This research would have been stronger if we had had a larger number of registrants. This would have allowed us to make better use of the survey instrument by teasing apart the progressive beliefs of those who were registered across the two conditions. This could have been achieved by either conducting more canvasser shifts, or conducting this experiment during a higher salience period that would have generated more than an average of around one registration card per hour.

What does it mean?

We found that C(4) messaging generated more registrations per hour than C(3) messaging, and a greater likelihood that those registered were not Republican. On a per canvasser hour basis, C(4) messaging generated a 27% (9 percentage points) greater Democratic advantage than C(3) messaging. For every C(3) canvasser hour a 0.33 Democratic registration card advantage was generated, whereas for every C(4) canvasser hour a 0.42 Democratic registration card advantage was generated.

Canvass

Experiment 1: Canvass + Mail Crossover

Actionable Findings

- Area focused canvass is more efficient than individual focused canvass
- Mail and canvass complemented each other; this finding is in addition to previous experimental results showing that multi-sourced mail can be highly cost effective on its own.

Progressivity of Registrants

No information about individual progressivity was collected for this specific experiment.

Research questions

1. When targeting non-registered canvassable Hispanics, does a combination of mail and canvass have a complementary registration effect?
2. Does a mail responsiveness model predict responsiveness when applied to canvass targets?

Background research from other areas

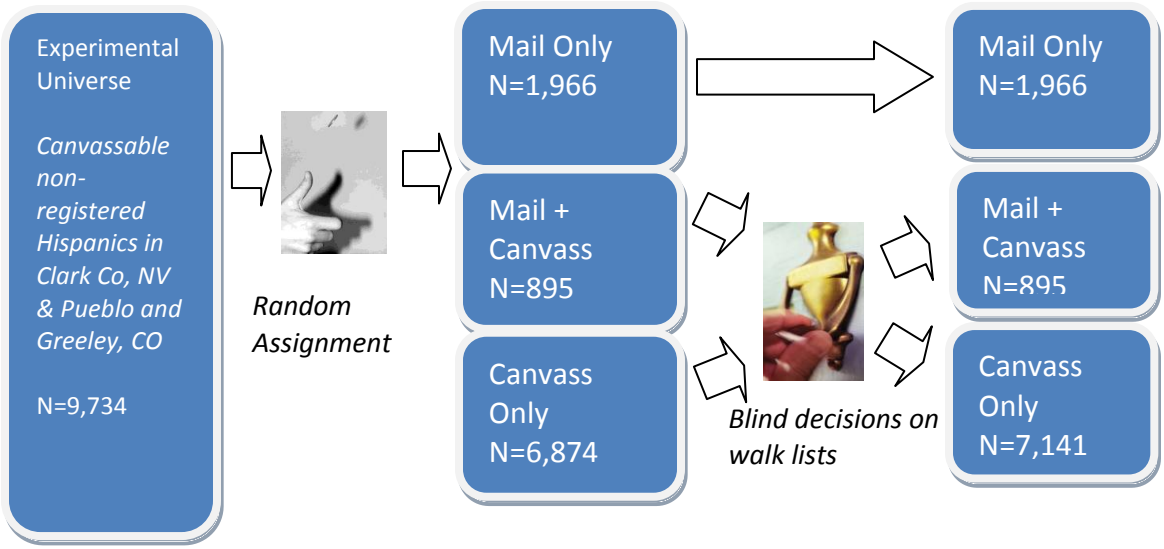
To the best of our knowledge, no previous research has looked at complementary registration effects for a combination of mail and canvass. There has been substantial research, mostly by Women's Voices. Women Vote. about the impact of targeted mail registration. That research is reviewed in greater detail in the section of this report dealing with Mail experiments.

Groups involved

Campaign for Community Change, Colorado Progressive Action, Democracia Ahora, and the Center for Voter Participation, a project of Women's Voice. Women Vote Action Fund.

Design

For this experiment Hispanic canvass targets were identified in Clark County, Nevada, and the Pueblo and Greeley metropolitan areas in Colorado. The targets were randomly assigned to receive one of three treatment conditions: voter registration mail-only, voter registration door-to-door canvass-only, or a combination of both mail and canvass. After the random assignment, field staff remained blind as to the assignment of the mail and canvass conditions with the list of canvassable addresses.



Individuals receiving a piece of mail were sent a neutral registration form that was exactly the same as the neutral mail sent in the direct mail experiments. Individuals who were canvassed had a field organizer come to the address on the Voting Age Population file and encourage the people at that address to register. After the fieldwork was completed, targets were scored using the 2010 Women's Voices. Women's Vote Action Fund mail responsiveness model. For more details on the conditions and the research design, please see the discussion of the mail + canvass experiment in the Methods section.

Results

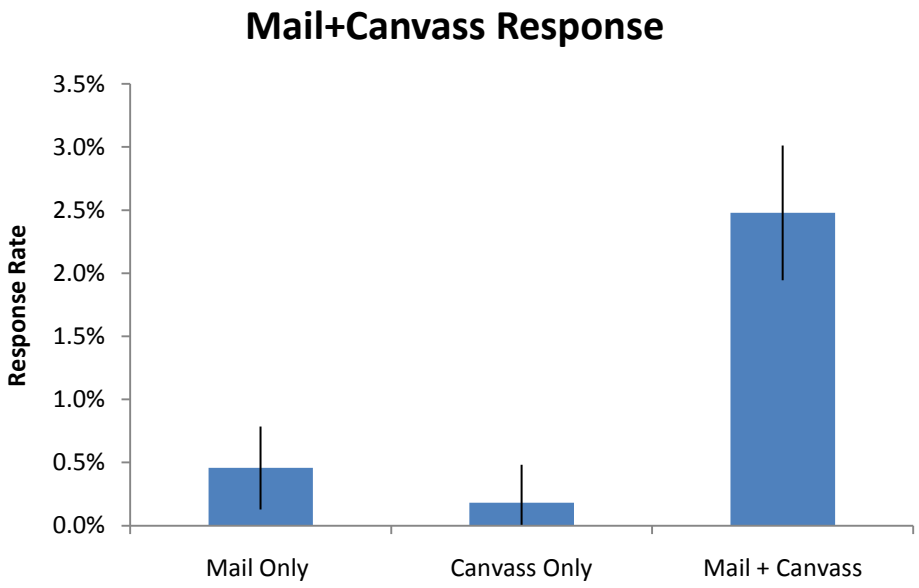
A significant complementary effect for canvass and mail was found among targeted non-registered Hispanics ($p<0.01$). Additionally, mail responsiveness models are not useful for predicting responsiveness among canvass targets.

Analysis found a randomization imbalance by age. The source of this imbalance was identified as resulting from data quality issues in the implementation of the experiment.[33] Sharing data between multiple organizations with different data formats caused age data to be lost. We are able to identify the points in the data sharing process where this occurred. Because the source of the imbalance was identified, the analysis controls for the presence of age information.

[33] For a more detailed discussion of the research design and randomization imbalances, please see the discussion of the Canvass and Mail experiment in the Methods section.

The table below reports response rates for each condition. (A response in this table is defined as a registration by an individual who was on the original target list.) The table reports actual response rates and response rates controlling for whether an individual had age information available. The graph that follows contains a marker for the estimated effect for each message (with age information set to missing), and the lines represent the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate.[34]

Treatment	Treated	Responses		Response Rate (controlling for presence of age)
		n	%	
Mail Only	1,966	9	0.5%	0.5%
Mail + Canvass	894	31	3.5%	2.5%
Canvass Only	6,874	16	0.2%	0.2%
Total	9,734	56	0.6%	0.6%



The first research question asks whether mail and canvass have complementary effects when targeting non-registered canvassable Hispanics. The results show that mail and canvass do have a complementary effect. The combination of Mail and Canvass together is five times more effective than mail alone, and over ten times as effective as canvass alone ($p<0.01$). Mail and Canvass combined is also more than twice as effective as the

[34] Procedures for adjusting confidence intervals when adding control covariates to an experimental analysis, such as the Bonferroni Correction, are appropriate when using covariates for causal inference of outcomes. This situation is commonly referred to as "multiple comparisons." However, we are instead using control covariates to correct for an observed component of the randomization procedure. Therefore we did not adjust the confidence intervals.

isolated effect of mail, as can be seen in the chart to the right ($p<0.01$). These results make us highly confident that mail and canvass do have a complementary effect.

Among those individuals in the mail + canvass condition, twice as many responses came from mail as from canvass. However, it is not clear what the relationship between mail responsiveness and canvass responsiveness is with this group because we do not know the exact dates that mail arrived at individual doors. It may be that individuals responded by mail after being canvassed, but cannot know the relationship without more information.

Mail + Canvass Interaction

	Mail	No Mail	Average
Canvass	3.5% *N=894*	0.2% *N=9,734*	0.5%
No Canvass	0.5% *N=1,966*	NA	0.5%
Average	1.4%	0.2%	

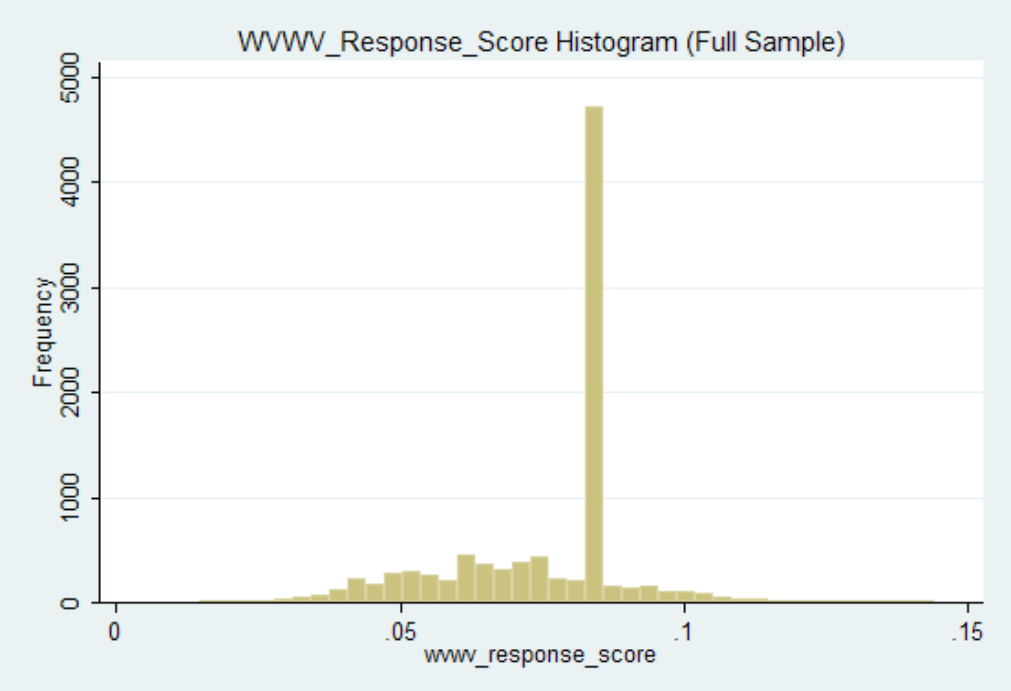
Registration by Type for Mail and Canvass Treatment

	n
Canvass	10
Mail	20
Both	1
Total	31

The second research question asks whether Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund's (WVWVAF) mail responsiveness model predicts responsiveness when applied to canvass targets. We are confident that the model does not predict responsiveness for the reasons discussed below.

The distribution of response scores in this experiment is highly concentrated. A majority of all individuals in this study have response scores between 0.08 and 0.09, and a plurality had just two scores.[35] The following graph displays a histogram of the response score distribution. The distribution of the response score is certainly skewed, and this spike is likely a result of the distribution of predictors used in the WVWVAF responsiveness model.

[35] Those scores are 0.0833206 and 0.083321.



The mail response score is a continuous variable; in order to make the modeled scores more intelligible we rank ordered observations by response score and recoded the score into categorical variables representing quartiles of our sample. The quartiles are uneven because of the concentration of individuals with one of two scores. The table below displays observed responses across the categorical response score variables. The graph following displays total observed response rates by model score quartile, with the lines representing the 95% confidence interval surrounding the estimate.

WVWVAF Score	Count	Mail Response		Canvass Response		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Lowest Quartile	2,494	13	0.5%	12	0.5%	25	1.0%
Middle Low	2,008	2	0.1%	6	0.3%	8	0.4%
Middle High	2,388	0	0.0%	3	0.1%	3	0.1%
Highest Quartile	1,103	6	0.5%	6	0.5%	12	1.1%
Total	7,993	21	0.3%	27	0.3%	48	0.6%

The graph and table clearly demonstrate that higher mail responsiveness model scores do not predict higher response rates when applied to canvass targets. We are confident that the lowest and highest quartiles respond at about twice the rate as the middle two quartiles ($p<0.05$). This lack of predictive power is true across both mail response rates and canvass response rates.

It is important to note that the modeled mail responsiveness scores for this population are very low. This is likely due to the relative lack of quality data for non-registered Hispanic individuals. The response model is in part based on the amount of information that can be obtained about an individual person. People with very low amounts of information on file respond at low rates for a number of reasons, including not living at the listed address.

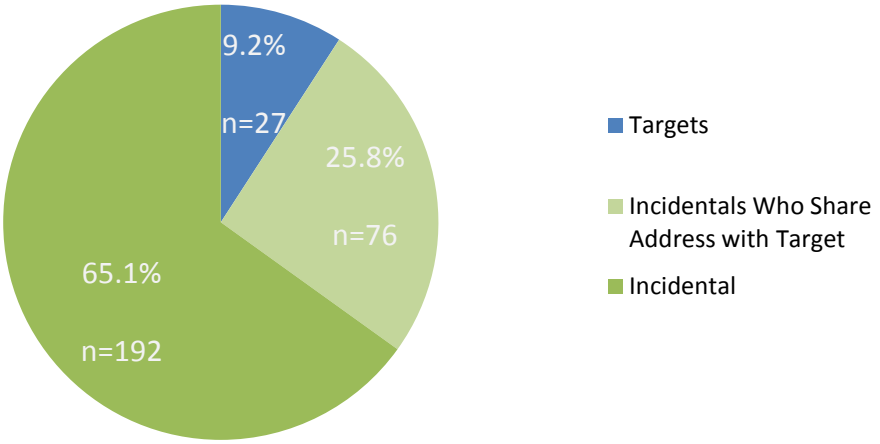
In fact, it is unlikely that individuals in this experiment would meet the criteria for efficient direct mail. WVWVAF only mails to individuals whose identities can be confirmed from multiple data sources, and the targets for this experiment were drawn from a single source. Furthermore, the mail responsiveness scores for individuals in this experiment are low when compared to other populations. The average response score for the experimental population is 0.075. When targeting non-registered Hispanics, WVWVAF prefers to mail to scores ranging from 0.072 to 0.144. Many—if not most—of these canvass targets would not be mailed under normal circumstances.

The results presented above found that mail and canvass do have a significant complementary effect when looking at *targeted* non-registered Hispanics. However information collected during the experiment suggests that *non-targets* registered through canvass can significantly affect the comparison of the two modes.

Individuals who were registered during the canvass but were not on the original target list were excluded in the above analysis. This exclusion was done for methodological reasons. Including registrations from people not in the original experimental universe would add an unknown confounding factor to the measured response rate. Specifically, the number of people who could have potentially been registered during the canvass from outside our target list and were not is impossible to know. Therefore, when looking at response rates, we did not include registrations external to our target list.

However, it is important to remember that targeted direct mail and field canvass operate very differently in practice. Direct mail can be targeted at a very precise individual level, without considering geographic density. Field canvass, on the other hand, would be woefully inefficient if canvassers ignored geographic density and chance encounters with non-registered voters as they walked.

Breakdown of Canvass Registrations



These important differences between field canvass and direct mail can be seen clearly in the data collected during this experiment. Out of the 7,768 doors that were knocked on as part of this experiment, 268 individuals were registered who *were not* on the original target list. By comparison, there were 27 individuals who were registered by canvass and *were* on the original target list. As the following table and chart make clear, a significant majority of canvass registrations did not come from the list of targets. "Incidental" registrations are registrations collected during canvass efforts of citizens who do not share an address with a targeted voter.

Future research

There are a number of possible reasons why canvass and mail complement each other. Future research could investigate this complementary effect in more detail, perhaps by varying the timing of the canvass relative to the mail.

Mail responsiveness models were not found to be effective at predicting responsiveness in this experiment. Future research could attempt to develop a canvass responsiveness model, if sufficient data could be gathered.

Incidental voter registrations while conducting a targeted canvass were not the focus of this experiment. However, the data gathered suggest the importance of further research into the mechanisms of incidental voter registration and how to maximize it. One obvious question is why the VAN did not identify the people who shared an address with a target. A further study should test the incidental aspects of voter registration.

This experiment, like several others in this larger project, highlights the need for further research on effective ways of identifying non-registered Hispanics. Data quality is a significant issue for this population. While the groups involved in these projects use cutting-edge techniques for mitigating poor data quality, more research is necessary.

Future research could look at the effect of sending mail from the same organization that is conducting the field canvass. It is possible that an organization with a field presence and ongoing relationship with the target population may have a more significant

complementary effect than an organization that the target population in unfamiliar with.

What does it mean?

Supplementing a canvass with mail significantly improved the registration rate among those reached by both modes, but WVWVAF's mail responsiveness model could not be used to predict responsiveness when targeting these non-registered Hispanics. Furthermore, when targeting these non-registered Hispanics for canvass a majority of the registrations collected came from individuals not on the original target list.

The findings taken together tentatively suggest that canvassing does reach a different population than targeted mail would reach. The findings also suggest that mail has a significant complementary effect with canvass when targets can be identified.

While this experiment was designed to examine how mail and canvass can overlap, it would be unfair to ignore the incidental voter registration work that occurs during a canvass when comparing the two modes. Targeting canvass programs at the individual level may not be the best way to evaluate canvass effectiveness because there is such a high rate of incidental registration. It may be more effective to evaluate the impact of canvass by geographic levels like precincts or census tracks.

The number of people registered incidentally exceeds the number of people registered in other ways in this experiment. This fact speaks to the potential impact of Democracia's field work, specifically in that relying on a targeting methodology at the individual level did not produce the biggest impact. Furthermore, the incidental impact speaks to Democracia's ability in the field and its potential to connect in more nuanced ways with Latino voters.

Conclusion

This was an ambitious project. By bringing together leading organizations from different areas of the progressive movement, The Atlantic Philanthropies sought to address a gaping need for progressives: how can we be more effective at progressive Hispanic voter registration? With over 12 randomized controlled experiments, across different modes of voter registration, it has yielded several useful results, and quite a few unexpected ones. Many of these results involved collaborations between the groups involved in this project: *Campaign for Community Change, Democracia Ahora, Rock The Vote Action Fund, and Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund.* This spirit of cooperation was critical to the success of this project as each group contributed its own unique strengths and expertise to the broad portfolio of projects.

	Common Research Questions				
	Neutral vs. not	Identity appeal	Social norms	Celebrity	Culturally informed
Mail 1: Direct Mail Messaging for Movers	X	X	X		X
Mail 2: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for RAE Movers					
Mail 3: Mail Messaging for Unregistered Hispanics	X	X	X		X
Mail 4: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for Unregistered Hispanics					
Email 1: Social Norms Messaging for Movers from an Organization with Which Mover Has a Prior Relationship	X		X		
Email 2: Cultural Identity Messaging for Movers from an Organization with Which Mover Has a Prior Relationship	X	X		X	
Email 3: Email Messaging for Movers Without a Prior Relationship	X	X	X	X	
Email 4: Email Messaging for Unregistered Individuals	X	X	X	X	
Banner Ad 1: Social Norms Banner Ad Messaging	X		X		
Banner Ad 2: Cultural Identity Banner Ad Messaging	X	X		X	
Site-Based 1: C(3) vs. C(4) Messaging					
Canvass and Mail 1: Are Canvass and Mail Complentary?					

There are two types of lessons learned. First, there are the discrete mode-specific lessons. Second, there are integrative, cross-mode lessons.

Mode-Specific Results

Direct Mail

The most significant takeaway across four categories of direct mail experiments is that mail proved an effective registration device for Hispanics. Specifically, neutral voter registration forms work best for registering Hispanics who have no previous relationship with the sending organization. Neutral-sounding senders were also more effective than specific organizations acting as senders. These findings are consistent with previous research conducted by Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund (WVWVAF) and Rock the Vote (RTV) studying different populations of the Rising American Electorate (RAE). (The RAE is defined as people of color, unmarried women, and citizens who can vote under the age of 30.) These findings proved true for Hispanics who have moved from their previous registration address, as well as for non-registered Hispanics. Neutral appearances outperformed a wide array of other messaging themes, including behavioral science levers like social norms messaging, as well as culturally targeted messaging about Hispanic identity and immigration reform.

WVWVAF compared two types of registration targeting. The first type is re-registering Hispanics who have moved from their previous registration address, specifically examining varying lengths of time since moving. Targeting these "movers" was compared to registering non-registered Hispanics, who are identified through databases of individuals in the Voting Age Population (VAP). WVWVAF found that it is significantly more effective to re-register a Hispanic mover, even if they moved more than 16 months ago, than it is to register a non-registered Hispanic using VAP data. These findings refined WVWVAF's best practices for the efficient use of resources when registering Hispanics.

Another substantial value derived from this project was that WVWVAF was able to use this data to develop a 2010 mail registration responsiveness model that outperforms their 2008 model. Because of the Hispanic focus of this project, their model will allow them to be especially effective at targeting Hispanic voters for direct mail registration. This model is available from WVWVAF for use among the progressive community. Finally, the results of the various targeting experiments involved in this project reinforced WVWVAF's strategy that non-registered voters who appear on only one of multiple possible lists of non-registered voters are not very responsive targets. Incorporating this insight about the relationship between sources of targeting data and responsiveness would significantly increase efficiency when other groups mail non-registered voters.

Email

There were two related key takeaways from the four email-based experiments. First, registration encouragement emails sent to citizens who did not have a pre-existing

relationship with the sender did not work, regardless of whether the target was a recent mover or non-registered. The second related insight was that having a prior relationship with a targeted citizen made email based registration appeals more effective, especially for neutral emails. The finding that a prior relationship was necessary for an email communication to have an impact is consistent with research that Rock The Vote conducted in New Jersey in 2009.[36] Furthermore, the effectiveness of the neutral-looking email to re-register young Hispanic voters is consistent with prior re-registration direct mail and email tests conducted by Rock the Vote to a general audience.

Banner Ads

Several lessons were learned from the banner ad experiments. First, the inclusion of a celebrity—in this case Cuban-American musician Pitbull—dramatically increased registration clickthroughs. Second, on websites trafficked by Hispanic citizens, Hispanic identity appeals were more effective at increasing clickthroughs than American identity appeals. And third, the celebrity effect amplified the impact of Hispanic identity appeals relative to American identity appeals. While it is not clear whether or not the celebrity effect is Pitbull-specific, the finding underscores the value of pilot testing new ideas, as well as the use of relevant celebrities in Hispanic voter registration efforts.

Additionally, online banner advertising to drive registrations is a relatively new activity. Lessons were learned about how to best execute these programs that will help refine strategies in the future. These include insights into targeting by demographics, geography, and progressive values, as well as the sizing of ads for various websites, when to use cost-per-click pricing (CPC) versus cost-per-impression pricing (CPM), what platforms generate the most clickthroughs, and which messaging is most effective. None of these operational insights are definitive, but they will make future efforts more effective. For example, during the implementation of the research it was learned that some banner ad platforms are better suited for experimental hypothesis testing than others at this point in time. The insights drawn from this initial project provide a foundation for further testing about how best to register young, progressive Hispanic voters in this relatively new and potentially fertile online advertising space.

Site-based

The main takeaway from the site-based experiment is that strong C(4) messaging in Hispanic communities generates more net Democratic registrations. However, there was no difference between C(4) and C(3) messaging in terms of the definition of progressivity measured by our survey instrument.

Specifically, the experiment found that C(4) messaging generated more registrations per hour than C(3) messaging, and a greater likelihood that those registered were

[36] That research showed that GOTV text messages to citizens who registered through Rock the Vote in 2008 significantly increased turnout, but only if they came from Rock the Vote.

Democratic. On a per canvasser-hour basis, C(4) messaging generated a 27% (or 9 percentage points) greater Democratic advantage than C(3) messaging. For every C(3) canvasser hour a 0.33 Democratic registration card advantage was generated, whereas for every C(4) canvasser hour a 0.42 Democratic registration card advantage was generated.

Canvass and Mail (combined)

There are two main takeaways from the canvass and mail experiment. First, a neighborhood or precinct-based canvass is more effective at generating marginal registrations, because individual-level data on non-registered Hispanics is at present lacking coverage in certain respects. Second, despite the current limitations of individual data, the two modes have a complementary effect. Supplementing canvass with voter registration mail within the limited geography of the canvass does significantly improve the registration rate among those reached by both modes.

When targeting these non-registered Hispanics for canvass a majority of the registrations collected came from individuals not on the original target list (i.e., "incidental" registrations). The findings taken together tentatively suggest that canvassing does reach a different *overall* population than targeted mail would reach, but among a narrower population of individual identifiable targets mail has a significant complementary effect.

There are multiple possible strategies for implementing a canvass of non-registered Hispanics. One strategy is to acquire a list of non-registered individuals from a data source, and go to each individual address. That was the strategy used in this experiment, and it proved to be relatively inefficient at registering the original targets. We believe a limitation in data is a significant reason for the inefficient outreach to individual targets. Yet even the best political data providers are somewhat limited in their ability to identify non-registered Hispanics.[37]

An alternative strategy for implementing a canvass would be to combine local field expertise with available data to identify precincts where there are likely to be many eligible non-registered Hispanics. Skilled canvassers would go to those precincts, relying on training to register as many eligible non-registered people as possible. Based on the high frequency of incidental field registrations in this experiment, it may be more effective to implement and evaluate canvass programs using a variation of this second approach—by geographic levels like precincts or census tracks—rather than the first individual-level approach.

[37] The reasons for poor individual-level data on non-registered Hispanics are covered in more detail in the Methods & Notes section of the report. Two of the widely accepted reasons are A) Hispanics move frequently, and B) a non-trivial number of Hispanics are ineligible to vote. Data providers in the progressive community are devoting significant resources to improving their coverage of Hispanics.

The high volume of incidental voter registrations produced by the canvass program highlights the need for additional Hispanic canvass research. In particular, the importance of on-the-ground organizer knowledge and cultural competency in Hispanic field canvass operations should be further explored.

Macro Lessons

There were two principal integrative lessons across these experiments. The first has to do with when neutral-looking communications will dominate all other modes of communication, and when they will not. In the email and direct mail voter registration experiments, neutral messaging was found to dominate all other messaging. This is consistent with past research as well. A variety of other types of messaging have been compared to neutral messaging in these contexts, including identity appeals, social norms, celebrity endorsements, and culturally informed messaging, and were not found to be more effective.

Yet in the banner ad experiments, the banner ad message that most closely resembled a neutral message was the generic ad, and it under-performed identity and celebrity messaging. How is it possible that neutral messaging is so consistently potent for some modes, and yet appears relatively ineffective in others? We believe that the following explanation is the most parsimonious. When delivery of a communication requires active, individual-level targeting people may be resistant to messages that feel uninvited (i.e., spam). At the same time people may be relatively more receptive to messages that seem like they could be coming from a neutral source (i.e., government or other disinterested communicators). On the other hand, when delivery of a communication is passive, and seems broadcasted, it is difficult to capture the limited attention of a target. In this more passive context compelling messages and messengers may be especially effective (i.e., eye-catching communications, celebrity images, flash and video content). This would also imply that messages that are relatively dull and staid are less likely to be noticed (i.e., neutral-looking messaging).

One might call this the "mode and attention" interpretation. It can explain why direct mail and email with neutral appearances dominated celebrity and behavioral science informed messaging, while the opposite was true for banner ads. It would predict that ads on buses, billboards, and newspapers, as well as site-based messaging, would benefit from compelling, non-neutral messaging. Further, it might also predict that canvassing messaging may benefit from appearing to be neutral.

The second lesson from this research is with regards to the insights from behavioral science about how to motivate behavior. Across experiments we found inconsistent results. We found that for banner ads Hispanic identity appeals dominated American identity appeals, but for emails we found no difference between the two appeals, and for direct mail we found that Hispanic identity appeals did not increase responsiveness.

We found that emphasizing that lots of others are registering to vote resulted in fewer banner ad clickthroughs than emphasizing that few others are registering (the opposite of findings from other domains), while it resulted in erratic effects for email. The fact that these findings are inconsistent illustrates exactly why experimental testing is so important: we should not take for granted that something discovered in one domain is necessarily true in another. It is experiments like those conducted in this project, and the work of groups like those who invested so much in conducting them, that help us become ever more effective over time.

Methods & Notes

Mail

All of the mail experiments followed a similar experimental design. A universe of targets was identified using WVWVAF's data quality criteria, and a number of treatment conditions were randomly assigned to those targets.

The following subsections describe in detail the experimental design, treatment conditions, and analysis of the methodology for the mail experiments.

Experiment 1: Direct Mail for Movers

Design

The universe includes Hispanics targeted as members of the Rising American Electorate (RAE) who have moved since before the 2008 election. (The RAE is defined as minorities, unmarried women, and people under the age of 30.) Previously registered individuals were identified through TargetSmart's voter files, and their identities at their current addresses were confirmed using ExactTracks matching technology. Specifically, individuals who met the RAE criteria were included who either moved into Colorado, Florida, or Missouri from another state, or who moved to a new county within those states and have not re-registered since moving. The date of the move in all of the Hispanic oversamples was limited to those who had moved prior to the 2008 general election and not re-registered.[38]

Targets were randomly assigned to receive one of six messaging treatments. Except for the final condition, each of the messages was on the inside of a neutral form. The outside of the neutral form was addressed to the target and contained text on one side that read, "Important Voter Registration Information Inside. Open Here," with text on the other side that read, "Notice to [name of target], if you are no longer residing at [address], it is important to update your registration information if you have moved and want to vote. Please complete and send the enclosed application today."

On the inside of the neutral form, one treatment condition contained no pictures, but a neutral message that read, "Complete and remove this form today and mail in the attached envelope! If you have moved since you last voted and want to vote, you must

[38] The universe for this experiment is drawn from an oversample of a larger WVWVAF research project looking at the Rising American Electorate more generally. Some of the conditions for the larger research did not have enough Hispanics in them to be analyzed in this report. However, we still must control for the assignment of every stratified condition in the larger research project, even if it does not contain enough Hispanics.

update your voter registration."[39] Another message emphasized the convenience of voting, with pictures of an application, mailbox, and an "I Voted" sticker, as well as text that read, "Register from home. Easy as 1-2-3. Fill out application. Mail it. You're registered!" The next message attempted to evoke anger, with a picture of two politicans smoking cigars and text that read, "They think they own government. Register. Vote. Because it's our country, not theirs." Another message emphasized change, with a picture of a politician plugging his ears and text that read, "America voted for change, but the politicians aren't listening. So it's time to change the politicians." The final condition with the neutral exterior was designed to encourage conformity to a social norm. On the inside, it contained pictures of stick-people standing in two separate groups, three standing together to signify the proportion of people who re-register when they move and one person standing alone who signifies the proportion of people who do not. These are accompanied by the text, "3 out of 4 of people who move into a new neighborhood register to vote within their first year. Please do your part. Register to vote."

The final treatment did not have a neutral exterior. Instead, it retained the neutral treatment message on the inside, but the outside contained the social norm message instead of the neutral text that read,"Notice to [name of target], if you are no longer residing at [address], it is important to update your registration information if you have moved and want to vote. Please complete and send the enclosed application today."

The random assignment of treatments are balanced across two known demographic factors, age and gender. However, the randomization process used by WVWVAF's data management consultant for the Movers mailing appears to have had an error in the sequence for assigning records to treatments. This error assigned records to phone treatments and email treatments (part of WVWVAF's own Movers testing) before assigning records to the messages tested in this experiment. This sequence resulted in an imbalance of the number of emails and phones assigned to the message treatment groups. This error is corrected in the reported results by controling for presence of a phone and presence of an email address.

Those receiving the Neutral condition were nearly 8% more likely to have phone numbers available when compared to the other five message conditions ($p<.001$). In addition, they were also significantly less likely to have email addresses (1%, $p<.01$). The following table present the disparities.

[39] For examples of every condition, please see Appendix H.

	No Phone	Phone	No Email	Email	Total
Control	5,798	670	5,893	575	6,468
	91.1%	8.9%	91.1%	8.9%	
Convenience	6,076	290	5,750	616	6,366
	90.3%	9.7%	90.3%	9.7%	
Anger	6,193	225	5,770	648	6,418
	89.9%	10.1%	89.9%	10.1%	
Change	6,185	219	5,776	628	6,404
	90.2%	9.8%	90.2%	9.8%	
Social Norms Inside	6,295	28	5,676	647	6,323
	89.8%	10.2%	89.8%	10.2%	
Social Norms Cover	6,465	27	5,844	648	6,492
	90.0%	10.0%	90.0%	10.0%	

Those with phone numbers and email addresses available are different from those without phone numbers and email address, in ways both known and unknown. For example, those with phone numbers and email addresses on file may also be more likely to live at the address on file, and as a result may be more likely to respond. Detecting a non-random distribution of recorded phone numbers and email addresses means that there is potential for a non-random effect on response rates. Thus, the analysis controls for these two factors.

Experiment 2: Pre-Treatment Phone Call Response for RAE Movers

Design

The universe includes Hispanics targeted as members of the Rising American Electorate (RAE) who have moved since before the 2008 election. (The RAE is defined as minorities, unmarried women, and people under the age of 30.) Previously registered individuals were identified through TargetSmart's voter files, and their identities at their current addresses was confirmed using ExactTracks matching technology. Specifically, individuals who met the RAE criteria were included who either moved into Colorado, Florida, or Missouri from another state, or who moved to a new county within those states and have not re-registered since moving. The date of the move in all of the Hispanic oversamples was limited to those who had moved prior to the 2008 general election and not re-registered.[40] This experiment draws from the same population as Experiment 1,

[40] The universe for this experiment is drawn from an oversample of a larger WVWVAF research project looking at the Rising American Electorate more generally. Some of the conditions for the larger research did not have enough Hispanics in them to be analyzed in this report. However, we still must

but is limited to targets who have landline phone numbers on file.

Targets were sent the neutral registration form with the neutral interior message from Experiment 1. The control group in this analysis is the sample of targets from Experiment 1 who received the neutral message and who had landline phone numbers available. This is why it only contains 445 targets. These targets were randomly assigned to three treatment conditions. One received the neutral form plus a plain automated call informing them the registration application was in the mail and asking them to look for it. A second condition received the neutral form plus an automated call before the form arrived that asked the target to "press 1" if they would look for it in the mail. A third condition received the neutral form plus a live phone call encouraging them to look for the mail before the form arrived.

As in the Movers test, the randomization process used by WVWVAF's data manager appears to have had an error with regard to the sequence of the random assignment. This error resulted in an imbalance of the availability of phone numbers and emails across the treatments. Due to the correlation of age with phone numbers and emails in the Voting Age Population file, this issue also resulted in an imbalance by age. Therefore, we control for the availability of phones, email, and for age in this analysis.

Experiment 3: Mail Messaging for Non-registered Hispanics

Design

The universe includes non-registered Hispanics in Nevada and Colorado, as identified by cross-checking commercial data on people in the Voting Age Population (VAP) with the publicly available lists of registered voters. Following WVWVAF's best practices, which have been developed over several election cycles, this experimental universe consists of individuals identified as non-registered by multiple sources in TargetSmart's database. WVWVAF research has shown that records from a single source are dramatically less likely to be proper records, and therefore have a dramatically lower response rate than unregsitered data that uses multiple sources.

Targets in the universe were randomly assigned one of nine message treatments, each of which appeared on the inside of the form.[41] One treatment condition contained a neutral message with no pictures and text that read, "Complete and remove this form and mail in the attached envelope today! The cost of the mailing and postage has been authorized and paid for by the Center for Voter Participation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan nongovernmental organization."

The other treatments looked at paired dimmensions of messaging tests that have proven successful in other contexts. One set of treatments attempted to elicit conformity to social norms, either by reporting the percentage of people who are not registered (29%)

control for the assignment of every stratified condition in the larger research project, even if it does not contain enough Hispanics.

[41] For examples of every condition, please see Appendix H.

or the percentage who are (71%). Neither contained any pictures. The first is refered to throughout as the "low registrations" treatment and the second as the "high registrations" treatment.

A second set of treatments focused on the target's identity, either as an American or as a Hispanic. Both contained a picture of a young girl standing beside a flag. One read, "As Americans, we have the right to vote to change our country. Register from home today!" The other read, "As Hispanics, we have the right to vote to change our country. Register from home today!"

A third set of treatments delivered partisan messages. The pro-Democrat treatment contained a picture of President Obama speaking to an audience, and its text read, "Democrats are fighting for us by trying to create jobs, fix health care and turn this economy around. Register to vote and help them get it done." The anti-Republican treatment contained pictures of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, and its text read, "We've seen the results of 8 years of Republican failure: special interests in charge, record high unemployment, and tax breaks for the rich. Register to vote and help clean up their mess."

The final set of treaments mentioned Demoracia Ahora specifically. One was identical to the neutral message above, but instead of referencing the "Center for Voter Participation," the second part read, "The cost of the mailing and postage has been authorized and paid by Democracia Ahora. Democracia Ahora is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, Hispanic voter registration, civic engagement and leadership development organization that seeks to increase the participation of Latinos in the American democratic process." The other treatment was similar in style but had an immigration focus. It read, "Some politicians want to close the U.S. borders and deport the immigrants. We can stop them. But only if you register and vote. Democracia Ahora urges you to fill out this form, mail it, and register to vote today!"

A randomization check demonstrated that the treatment conditions are unbalanced with respect to whether targets had records for age, gender, and phone. At the extremes, those assigned to the Hispanic Identity treatment were 1.9% more likely to have gender information than those assigned to Low Registrations treatment ($p<.001$), those assigned to the High Registrations treatment were 25.7% more likely than those assigned to the General Neutral treatment to have phone numbers ($p<.001$), and those assigned to the Democracia Immigration treatment were 3.8% more likely than those assigned to the Low Registrations condition to have age information ($p<.001$).

Across all non-specialized treaments, the presence of a phone number does not significantly relate to higher response rates, the presence of age information corresponds to a 0.8% increase in response rate ($p<.001$), and the presence of gender information corresponds to a -0.6% effect ($p<.001$). While these findings are somewhat inconsistent with previous ones, it is still important to control for these factors because they are not randomly distributed across conditions.

Experiment 4: Pre-treatment Phone Call Response for Non-registered Hispanics

Design

The universe includes non-registered Hispanics in Nevada and Colorado with phone numbers on file, as identified by cross-checking commercial data on people in the Voting Age Population (VAP) with the publicly available lists of registered voters. Following WVWVAF's best practices, which have been developed over several election cycles, this experimental universe consists of individuals identified as non-registered by multiple sources in TargetSmart's database. WVWVAF research has shown that records from a single source are dramatically less likely to be proper records, and therefore have a dramatically lower response rate than unregsitered data that uses multiple sources.

Targets in the universe were randomly assigned to receive one of two phone pre-treatments, or to a control group that did not receive a pre-treatment. All three conditions were mailed a registration form that contained a Neutral message with no pictures and text that read, "Complete and remove this form and mail in the attached envelope today! The cost of the mailing and postage has been authorized and paid for by the Center for Voter Participation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan nongovernmental organization." Targets in one treatment condition received the neutral form plus a plain automated call before the form arrived. Targets in the other condition received the neutral form plus a live call encouraging them to look for the mail before the form arrived.

Notes on Direct Mail Experiments

Logistics

Many single sourced VAP records are either not real persons or are persons who no longer reside at the address listed, and these records suffer from dramatically lower rates of return than multi-sourced records. Another large segment of single sourced records are actually people already registered at the same address, but the single sourced record was not able to be matched to the voterfile record of the person. This segment tends to have very high relative response rates, because these people want to make sure they are properly registered. Mailing to either of these segments is an inefficient use of scarce resources. A third segment of single sourced records are those already registered at another address, and this segment has relatively low response rates because many, if not most, of them have moved away from the single sourced address.

These challenges underscore the improtance of using rigorous standards for evaluating and using data. Data providers in the progressive community are well aware of these challenges when working with single-source VAP data. Significant time and energy is currently being devoted to improving the usability of VAP data.

One of the advantages of direct mail is the ability to leverage available data to target individuals by very specific criteria. These mail experiments are no different, asking research questions narrowed by ethnicity, geography, presence of phone numbers on file, and other specific data points.

However, the added power that detailed mail data provides also comes with added complexity. As can be seen from the imbalances in the randomization of both the movers and non-registered universes, working with mail data requires a great deal of care. In addition to the randomization imbalances, another unrelated data error occurred while exchanging data between organizations. It resulted in a trivial number of non-registered targets receiving duplicate mailings. Eliminating these duplicate targets did not affect the analysis.

If we could do it over again…

We would have had a completely randomized data set and not have had to control for the differences. This can be mitigated if all data handling is centralized, with clear and consistent criteria developed in relation to the research design. In the future, we will more clearly define data responsibilities when working with direct mail data.

Email

All of the email experiments followed a similar experimental design. A universe of targets was identified using either internal Rock the Vote email data or commercially available email data, and a number of treatment conditions were randomly assigned to those targets.

The following subsections describe in detail the experimental design, treatment conditions, and analysis of the methodology for the email experiments.

Experiment 1: Social Norms Email Messaging for Movers with a Prior Relationship

Design

For this experiment Hispanic movers on Rock the Vote's email list were purchased by RTVAF and then randomly assigned to receive one of three types of email messages: (1) Neutral, (2) High Registration rate, or (3) Low Registration rate. Each email included text encouraging targets to re-register, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition.[42] Information was gathered from unique URLs on registration rate, as well as open rate and clickthrough rate.

The "Neutral condition" email had text informing the targets that, according to records, they have moved since the last election and needed to re-register. It also included an embedded plain graphic from the Voter Registration Center. The High Registration rate condition included an image of Hispanics holding signs with embedded text encouraging targets to join the 2.4 million young Hispanics who voted in 2008. The Low Registration rate condition had the same image, with text stating that half of young Hispanics are not registered to vote and text encouraging targets to do their part and register.

Experiment 2: Cultural Identity Email Messaging for Movers with a Prior Relationship

Design

For this experiment Hispanic movers on Rock the Vote's email list were purchased by RTVAF and then randomly assigned to receive one of three types of email messages: (1) Neutral, (2) Celebrity American Identity, or (3) Celebrity Hispanic Identity. Each email included text encouraging targets to re-register, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition. Information was gathered from unique URLs on registration rate, open rate, and clickthrough rate.

The Neutral Condition email had text that informed the targets that, according to records, they have moved since the last election and needed to re-register. It also included an embedded plain graphic from the Voter Registration Center. The two other

[42] Examples of each email condition can be found in Appendix E.

conditions included messages from Cuban-American musician, Pitbull. In the Celebrity American Identity condition, the image of Pitbull is accompanied with text encouraging individuals to register as Americans. The Celebrity Hispanic Identity email has the same exact content, except it includes text encouraging individuals to register as Hispanics.

Experiment 3: Email Messaging for Movers Without a Prior Relationship

Design

In the previous experiments, emails were sent from RTVAF to people who had chosen to join RTVAF or Rock the Vote's mailing list, and thus were generally familiar with Rock the Vote as an organization. For this experiment, emails from RTVAF were sent to Hispanic movers provided by Catalist, meaning that the targets did not necessarily have a prior relationship with RTVAF or Rock the Vote. Each person was randomly assigned to receive one of seven types of email messages. Five of the seven emails were similar to those used in the previous email experiment. [43]

As before, each email included text encouraging targets to reregister, an image, and a link to a registration website. The text and image varied with each condition. Information was gathered from unique URLs on registration rate, as well as open rate and clickthrough rate.

Email Sender

There were three possible email senders: Pitbull (a Hispanic celebrity), Heather Smith (a generic person), or the neutral-sounding Voter Registration Center at Rock the Vote Action Fund.

Deadlines

There were two email conditions in which the sender was the neutral-sounding Voter Registration Center, one of which emphasized a deadline and the other which did not. For both these neutral conditions, a plain graphic from the Voter Registration Center was embedded. Text simply informed targets that according to records, they have moved since the last election and need to re-register.

In the deadline condition, the emails were sent three days before a primary registration deadline and read, "The mail-in voter registration deadline is" with the date. Due to the small number of states that had primary registration deadlines in the timeframe of the experiment, the sample size for the Deadline condition is small. In the Non-Deadline condition, the email simply notified the recipient that "you need to register today."

Ethnic and National Identity

Four conditions included messages from Cuban-American musician Pitbull, two making

[43] Examples of each email condition can be found in Appendix E.

reference to ethnic and cultural identity. In the Celebrity American Identity condition an image of Pitbull is embedded in the email with text encouraging individuals to register as Americans. In the Celebrity Hispanic Identity condition the image of Pitbull instead includes text encouraging individuals to register as Hispanics.

Social Norms

Four conditions included information about the rate of voting among Hispanics, allowing for social norm comparisons. The two Positive Social Norms conditions included an image of a group Hispanics holding signs with embedded text encouraging targets to join the 2.4 million young Hispanics who voted in 2008. The two Negative Social Norms conditions had the same image, with text stating that half of young Hispanics are not registered to vote and encouraged targets to do their part and register.

Interaction between Celebrity and Social Norm

Four of the conditions allowed for a test of an interaction between Celebrity and Social Norm information. Specifically, one of the emails from Pitbull emphasized the Positive Social Norms and another focused on the Negative Social Norms. Similarly, one of the emails from Heather Smith emphasized the Positive Social Norms and the other focused on the Negative Social Norms. This would allow us to test such hypotheses as whether the Positive Social Norms email would only lead to increased registration rates when it was from a recognizable celebrity.

Experiment 4: Email Messaging for Non-registered Individuals

Design

The emails sent were identical to those used in the Email Messaging for Movers Without a Prior Relationship experiment.

Notes on Email Experiments

Logistics

A database of email addresses is not the same as a database of mail addresses. Many people use multiple email addresses, and spam filter settings are updated constantly. It is not entirely surprising to learn that unsolicited email has a low response rate, but the fact that our findings show unsolicited email has no detectable response rate should underscore the value of a well-maintained and frequently utilized email database for organizations. Email is a comparatively low-cost mode of outreach, but it may only have value if certain conditions are met.

Commercially purchased email addresses were used for two of the four email experiments. Individuals who have email addresses on file with a commercial vendor

are flagged in Catalist's database, but these flags must be updated periodically. This experiment was unfortunately caught between updates, meaning that records were pulled for their email flags even though there was no longer a valid email on file. As a result the sample sizes for the two non-RTVAF experiments are 41% smaller than expected.

If we could do it over again…

Email, as noted above, can be an inconsistent source of data, especially if the email addresses are bought from a commercial vendor. In the future, we would make sure we oversample email addresses to account for the expected loss of data. We also recommend using high-quality commercial vendors to mitigate against data loss.

Web-Based

All of the banner ad experiments followed a similar experimental design. A universe of targets was identified by RTVAF in consultation with online advertising consultants and Google ad experts, then a number of treatment conditions were randomly assigned to those targets.

In order to reach progressive Hispanics, ages 18 to 29, RTVAF identified a number of platforms that are frequented by the target audience and developed a targeting method specific to that platform. Then, on each platform, a number of messages were tested.

On the overall ad buy, RTVAF looked closely at the sites that may be considered "progressive" based on a comScore (a rating service similar to Nielson ratings for television) report of sites where the users' index at 125 or higher for being Latino, ages 18-34 and either strongly or slightly liberal. This was coupled with an analysis of costs, as some of the more "progressive" sites have high cost-per-impressions (CPMs) that did not benefit the buy.

The ads ran from April 5th until April 19th and were geographically targeted to five states: Arkansas, Colorado, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Among these states, both Arkansas and Pennsylvania had competitive statewide Democratic primaries for the U.S. Senate in May and voter registration deadlines that occurred on April 19th. Colorado also has a competitive primary in August; the voter registration deadline is in July. Texas and Nevada did not have looming voter registration deadlines. [44]

The following subsections describe in detail the experimental design, treatment conditions, and analysis of the methodology for the banner ad experiments.

Experiment 1: Social Norms Banner Ad Messaging

Design

For this experiment a range of Hispanic-oriented websites were identified by RTVAF in consultation with an online advertising agency and Google ad experts. Three types of banner ads were randomly assigned to the audiences of these websites. The types of ads emphasized distinct messages, varrying in their imagery and text.[45]

A neutral banner ad containing only a plain background and simple text encouraging individuals to register was included to provide a baseline treatment for comparison.

The "high registration" treatment is a banner ad with an image of an immigration reform rally, with embedded text encouraging targets to join the 2.4 million young Hispanics

[44] Ads assigned to a generic ad condition emphasizing voter registration deadlines were not shown due to an error with the ad agency. See the logistics notes subsection for more detail.

[45] For examples of every banner ad condition, please see Appendix F.

who voted in 2008. The "low registration" treatment had the same image, with text that encouraged targets to do their part because half of young Hispanics are not registered to vote.

Experiment 2: Cultural Identity Banner Ad Messaging

Design

For this experiment a range of Hispanic-oriented websites were identified by RTVAF in conjunction with an online advertising agency and Google ad experts. Five types of banner ads were randomly assigned to the audiences of these websites. Each type emphasized a distinct message, varying in imagery and text.[46]

Two baseline cultural identity treatments were used. For the American Identity treatment an image of a crowd at an immigration reform rally was paired with text encouraging individuals to register as American. The Hispanic Identity treatment changes the word Americans for Hispanics, but is otherwise exactly the same.

Two celebrity identity treatments included the exact same messages described above, but with an image of Cuban-American musician Pitbull replacing the image of the rally. These treatments were included for two reasons. The first is to examine whether a Hispanic celebrity amplifies any Hispanic identity message effect. The second is to isolate whether adding a prominent Hispanic advocate increases registration, independent of message. This experiment had a factorialized design such that a banner ad (1) included an image of Pitbull or an immigration reform rally and (2) emphasized either Hispanic identity or American identity.

A neutral banner ad containing only a plain background and simple text encouraging individuals to register was included to provide a baseline treatment for comparison.

Notes on Banner Ad Experiments

Overall, RTVAF tested online advertising that targeted young, progressive Hispanics to determine the most effective methods for generating successful voter registrations among this cohort. With a mix of creative content across various online platforms—including banner ads on websites and YouTube videos frequented by our target audience and ads on Facebook—RTVAF tracked clickthrough and voter registration rates.

More specifically, RTVAF developed different upfront targeting and screening methods to determine how to best optimize targeting of *progressive*, as well as Hispanic 18-29 year olds. Different methods were used for banner ads on various websites, YouTube ads, and Facebook ads.

RTVAF also tested which messages generate the highest clickthrough rates. On each of

[46] For examples of every banner ad condition, please see Appendix F

three different platforms (banner ads on websites, YouTube ads, and Facebook), RTVAF tested and compared the effectiveness of three categories of messaging: (1) neutral/generic, (2) celebrity (with American and Hispanic identity appeals), and (3) social norms.

The Facebook and YouTube results were not included in the randomized tests (see below for explanation) but some general observations still provided RTVAF with data that can be used to instruct further development of overall best practices for online advertising models to generate Hispanic youth registrations. A couple key observations include:

1. Across the board the ads sized 728x90 were the best performers; 425x600 was the next best performing. There are a few exceptions to this that are worth noting, which might inform a well-structured digital media plan later on, such as the very strong performance of 300x250's on Univision (better than any other size on Univision).
2. The top two ads by clickthrough overall were two different celebrity ads, both sized 728x90. Also broadly speaking, the "celebrity" creative performed the best (on pages full of closely affiliated entertainment content, such as the Latino Music section of YouTube, as well as non-entertainment placements); given its success, it is worth exploring additional celebrity-based as well as media-rich and flash creatives.
3. Millions of impressions were added to the buy when RTVAF put CPC into the mix, rather than only running CPM. Looking at the average CPC and CPM's on the Interclick media websites, RTVAF basically bought the same ads at half price by using a CPC model.
4. YouTube was a successful site for this campaign: the combination of really high engagement levels (meaning high clickthroughs and interactivity) and modest CPM cost delivered great value (this needs to be further evaluated, however, when looking at the actual cost-per-registration tabulation). Facebook appears to have done well also, in part, because the Facebook keyword targeting is so effective and the CPM cost is very cheap. Without deconstructing the buy on Yahoo! and locating outliers, there's no reason to think that much value came from these networks: there were very low clickthroughs even though the inventory was not that inexpensive.
5. Several of the top-performing media placements, based on clickthroughs, were Spanish language or bilingual sites, indicating that exploration of Spanish language creative is needed.[47]
6. RTVAF ultimately placed media buys on a large set of sites (in the hundreds), and can now identify the placements where ads are getting 3-5 times the average click-through-rate, which will triple the value of a buy later this year.

[47] A Spanish language banner ad test was developed in collaboration with Democracia Ahora. However, the results could not be analyzed because of implementation problems with the online banner ad providers.

7. Many of the best placements were music/culture focused—more in line with a general Hispanic audience profile—rather than political/issued-based. For instance, the YouTube Latin Music placement, even with a more politically-focused ad against it, drove more clicks than the YouTube Campaigns placement.
8. Finally, all this is based on the assumption that clickthrough rates will mimic registration completion rates, an assumption that has to be validated when the registration numbers are applied to specific components of the ad campaign. This analysis may warrant working on landing pages to get the highest to-registration rate of conversion possible.

Logistics

Online advertisers use complex formulas to place ads on websites. These formulas weigh thousands of factors when determing when to show an ad, including everything from prior performance of similar ads to time of day. The formulas typically include some element of randomness. However the exact specifications of any online advertiser's algorithms are proprietary, meaning that when a randomized controlled experiment is conducted online it is difficult to know with certainty whether the ads are going to be distributed with mathematical randomness. This was not communicated to us at the time of placing these ads.

While a non-random ad assignment is a potentially serious concern for the research design, the concerns are balanced by practical considerations. Online advertising companies leverage immense quantities of data to be exceptionally good at figuring out which ad of a given set of ads performs the best. An organization conducting an online advertising campaign is not necessarily interested in comparing seven different ads for their relative effectiveness. More often, for reasons of cost-effectiveness, they will be interested in which single ad is the best.

However, in this experiment we were interested in comparing three ad types for their relative effectiveness. The online advertiser was instructed to input the ads into their system so that each of the three banner ad types would have an equal probability of being seen at any given time. The resulting distribution is the result of an attempt to follow those instructions, but is not mathematically random.

Therefore, despite explaining our specific requirements for a random distribution of the seven ads in writing and on conference calls, ads purchased on both Google and Facebook networks were not randomly distributed. Instead the ads were exposed to some non-random optimization algorithm. In other words, some unknown factor or factors influenced which of the seven ads would be seen at any given time. As a result, we cannot infer with confidence the relative performance of the experimental treatments for ads served on Google and Facebook. The data from Google and Facebook is therefore not included in the experimental analysis, only the data on those networks that adhered to our non-optimization instructions. All data associated with the

Democracia Ahora banner ad experiments were rendered unusable because of this problem as well.

A set of banner ads emphasizing registration deadlines was intended to be run alongside the other ads. Due to an error in uploading the ads, these deadline ads were not run on the networks where experimental results were able to be analyzed.

If we could do it over again…

We now know that some online advertising companies are better equipped to run randomized controlled experiments than others. In the future, we will recommend working with these companies when asked to advise randomized controlled experiments with banner ads.

Planning and implementing a banner ad experiment is challenging because the organizations that work in online advertising are themselves generally comfortable with data. However, their approach to data is focused on maximizing efficiency rather than hypothesis testing. We have learned that this caused a significant communications gap, where the online representatives assumed they understood what we were describing in excruciating detail. In the future we will ensure that we are more specifically and directly involved in the technical implementation of a banner ad experiment.

Site-Based

The following subsections describe in detail the experimental design, treatment conditions, and analysis of the methodology for the site-based experiment.

Experiment 1: C(3) vs. C(4) Messaging

Design

For this experiment Hispanic neighborhoods in the Denver metropolitan area were chosen by a field organization experienced in Hispanic voter registration work. They were randomly assigned to receive a C(3) or C(4) registration recruitment script. All of those registered were called to receive a follow-up phone survey to determine their level of progressivity. A fraction (17%) of those registered completed the survey.

The logistics of implementing an efficient site-based registration effort requires that individual canvassers be given the freedom to decide between multiple potential locations within a given neighborhood, depending on the number of registration prospects at any one particular location. Therefore, it was impractical to randomize at the level of registration site. Randomization was instead conducted at the level of the individual canvasser, by day.

An Analyst Institute staff member travelled to Denver, Colorado to assist with the beginning of the project. Each canvasser was trained in both a C(3) and C(4) registration script, and provided with both a C(3) and a C(4) t-shirt.[48] Prior to starting a canvassing shift the field director drew numbers out a hat to determine whether an individual would use a C(3) or C(4) script.

The C(3) script encouraged people to join their fellow Americans in voting in the next election. The C(3) t-shirt was a plain white t-shirt that read “Register to Vote!”

C(4) script encouraged people to register because Democrats are working hard to improve Latino communities. The C(4) t-shirt was a blue t-shirt that read “Support Progressive Democrats. Register to Vote.”

Survey

Being progressive is not the same as registering as a Democrat. The follow-up survey was carefully designed to capture progressivity as a distinct quality of an individual, independent of their party preference in vote choice.

[48] The full C(3) and C(4) scripts are available in Appendix B.

The progressivity survey asked respondents for their position on nine political issue questions. The specific issues were selected, in close consultation with leading Hispanic public opinion research firm Bendixen & Amandi, for clear progressive and non-progressive poles. Respondents who completed the survey were matched back to their C(3) or C(4) treatment.

Notes on Site-Based Experiments

Logistics

The initial design used a weaker C(4) message that was immediately flagged as insufficiently strong for the purposes of the test. After five days of canvassing replacement t-shirts and scripts arrived with stronger C(4) messaging. Only the stronger C(4) messaging is used in this analysis.

Previous research using a similar design had a much higher rate of follow-up phone calls. It is not clear why the response rate for follow-up surveys was so low in this experiment.

If we could do it over again…

We would conduct a wider canvass across more locations to ensure that we had more registrants to survey in the end.

Canvass

Experiment 1: Canvass + Mail Crossover

Design

For this experiment Hispanic canvass targets were identified in Clark County, Nevada, and the Pueblo and Greeley metropolitan areas in Colorado. The targets were randomly assigned to receive one of three treatment conditions: voter registration mail only, voter registration door-to-door canvass only, or a combination of both mail and canvass.

In this design there is potential for the distribution of treatment conditions to be biased when the field staff cut walk lists after the random assignment. The bias would occur because, after randomly selecting targets to be in the Mail Only condition, the density of canvassable targets may change from the original potential target list. We attempted to mitigate this "canvassability" bias by keeping the field staff blind as to who among their canvass targets was randomly assigned to receive mail. This way targets would be selected based on their "canvassability"; whether they were in the Canvas -Only treatment or the Mail and Canvass treatment would be randomly assigned.

Individuals receiving a piece of mail were sent a neutral registration form that read, "Complete and remove this form and mail in the attached envelope today!" on the cover. The mail was sent from the Center for Voter Participation. In previous experimental research by WVWVAF, across many contexts, this mail piece has repeatedly proven to be the most effective at generating registrations.

Individuals who were canvassed had a field organizer come to the address on the Voting Age Population file. The canvassers read a script that encouraged them to register to vote. The appeal in the script read, "We are visiting our neighbors today to make sure everyone is registered to vote for this important election coming up soon. If you are not registered, we can register you right now. It is easy and will only take a minute."[49]

Canvassers were not given any specific instructions regarding what to do when encountering individuals interested in registering who were not on the original target list. (In fact, the majority of people registered by canvassers were *not* on the original target list. Please see the discussion in the Results section for more information.)

Once the fieldwork was completed, targets were scored using the 2010 Women's Voices. Women's Vote mail responsiveness model. The mail responsiveness model has been developed over several election cycles to predict individuals who are likely to respond to direct mail voter registration forms.

[49] For complete scripts used in both Colorado and Nevada, please see Appendix G.

A randomization check of the final data reveals that the treatments are randomly distributed across gender (p=0.58). However, the Mail and Canvass treatment in the final data was significantly different from the Canvass-Only treatment in terms of age. Age information was not widely available for the final data, so categorical variables were created for oldest (older than 56), middle (55 to 44), and youngest (younger than 43) age categories. Our analysis finds that, compared to the Canvass Only treatment, the Mail and Canvass treatment has 9.5% fewer people younger than 43 and 10.3% more people older than 56 ($p<0.01$). This discrepancy did not occur during the randomization of the original data. Organizing the logistics of this project across several different organizations, many of which use different standards for keeping data, meant that the target data was reformatted multiple times. We were able to identify the non-random distribution of ages as an artifact of data quality inconsistencies, and not the original randomization. Therefore, we control for the presence of age information in the analysis.

Notes on Mail and Canvass Experiment

Logistics

Data sources for identifying non-registered individuals have gaps. Generally, a non-registered individual is identified by comparing individuals in commercial databases with individuals on the publicly available voter file. If a person over the age of 18 is identified in a commercial database and not on the voter file, they are flagged as non-registered members of the Voting Age Population (VAP).

A number of complications can occur during this process. People can be falsely matched because of spelling mistakes, use of different names, or changes in address. As a result, data quality when identifying non-registered individuals from VAP data can be a concern. Data providers in the progressive community are well aware of these challenges when working with VAP data. Significant time and energy is currently being devoted to improving the usability of VAP data.

For this experiment data quality was impaired in two ways. First, a significant number (more than a third) of people originally identified as non-registered were in fact registered by the time they received a treatment. This is primarily due to not coordinating our sampling procedure with the update schedule of the data source of non-registered individuals. After the canvass activities were mostly complete, we learned that the voter file we had sampled from had since been updated to reflect the recent registration of many of the individuals we were targeting.

We were unable to modify the canvass lists in Colorado to reflect this new information, and were only able to change about half the list in Nevada. A contributing reason to this lack of coordination was the unusual time of year that the field work was conducted. Political data providers update their files regularly, and are understandably focused on making sure the most updated file is available when political campaigns need them most. Because our work was conducted in a low-salience campaign environment, the

file was more likely than usual to undergo changes over the course of the project. In retrospect, this made coordination even more important. If similar tests were conducted in a more traditional campaign context, these data coordination issues would likely be less of a risk.

Additionally, the experiment used single-sourced data to identify an individual as non-registered. Single-sourced means that an individual is flagged as non-registered if they appear on a single commercial database and are not matched to the voter file. However, because commercial databases vary significantly, relying on single-sourced data can result in false positives when identifying someone as non-registered. WVWVAF, for example, does not rely on single-sourced lists when it targets its voter registration mail.

For both the mail and canvass components, the lists produced on the voting age population (VAP) based on both consumer and electoral data had gaps regarding whether an individual lived at a given address, or whether an individual was eligible to vote. Many people on the lists were non-citizen Hispanics. Data providers in the progressive community are well aware of these challenges when working with single-source VAP data. Significant time and energy is currently being devoted to improving the usability of VAP data.

Data gaps are an inescapable issue when working with Hispanic voter registration outreach. There simply are not better sources for individual-level non-registered Hispanic data than those used in this project. One approach for mitigating poor data quality is to use data sanitization techniques, such as using multiple sources to confirm an individual identity at a specific address. Context and resources will likely determine what approach, or combination of approaches, work best for any given project.

The second way in which data was impaired for this experiment is that a number of canvass targets were mistakenly sent mail from a concurrent direct mail research project. WVWVAF, as part of the larger Atlantic Philanthropies research project, also targeted non-registered Hispanics in Colorado and Nevada. The Analyst Institute was tasked with ensuring that these experiments did not overlap. However, we were not completely successful in eliminating duplicates from the two experiments. This mistake occurred because of a combination of deadline pressures and difficulties in sharing data from multiple sources between different organizations. In total, about 1 out of every 20 non-registered Hispanic targets in this experiment were sent duplicate mail. Serendipitously, this error was orthogonal to our randomization and therefore had no bearing on our randomization process. Duplicates and previously registered individuals have been removed from the above analyses.

If we could do it over again…

In the future, we would improve data quality in a variety of ways:

1) Centralize data handling within one organization

2) Use multiple sources of consumer data, rather than a single source, to identify non-registered individuals. We should note that this appears to be the emerging standard among political data providers and users.
3) Coordinate with data providers to ensure that experimental data is synchronized with update schedules for the voter file.
4) Utilize commercially-available matching products that can overcome name and address variations resulting in false negatives.

Given unlimited resources, we would conduct a wider canvass across more locations to ensure that our results had higher statistical power. We would also ensure that more individuals were sent mail. With more resources dedicated to mail, the likelihood of individuals receiving the mail and canvass treatment when the field staff cuts walk lists would increase. We might also conduct this experiment in a higher salience electoral period so we could expect a higher response rate among targets.

Acknowledgements

This report represents the work of dozens of individuals from a half dozen groups. Following is an incomplete listing of many of these individuals: Heather Smith, Thomas Bates, David Pruter, Chrissy Faessen, Page Gardner, Ron Rosenblith, Amy Young, Chris Mann, Masa Aida, Drew Brighton, Maren Hesla, Rudy Lopez, Tim Anderegg, Irma Palacios, Ben Hanna, Ethan Roeder, David Winkler, Joel Rivlin, Jorge Mursuli, Rafael Collazo, Alex Easdale, Sergio Bendixen, Scott Gardner, German Trejo, Jonathan Marrero, Rudi Navarra, and Sujata Tejwani. Finally, thanks to the Analyst Institute team including Regina Schwartz, John Ternovski, Lauren Deschamps, Debby Kermer, and Arjun Shenoy.

Appendices

Appendix A: Matching to Original Projects

During the course of implementing the various field experiments included within this project, plans were changed to meet logistical, budgetary, and programmatic priorities. As a result, the report has been reorganized to reflect analysis by mode. We believe this change improves the logic and clarity of the report.

The March 5th initial document defining research questions, research design, and preliminary budgets was primarily organized by feasibility. The following table maps the organization of the March 5th document onto this document's analysis.

Initial Project Name	Description	Current Project
Proj. 1: Direct Mail Messaging & Prep for Movers	WVWVAF direct mail research to multiple stratifications of movers	Mail Experiment 1, p. 33 Mail Experiment 2, p. 37
Proj. 2: Direct Mail Messaging & Phone Prep for Non-registered Voters	WVWVAF direct mail research to multiple stratifications of non-registered voters	Mail Experiment 3, p. 40 Mail Experiment 4, p. 45
Proj. 3: Direct Mail Issue Messaging for Non-registered Voters	DUSA direct mail research to non-registered voters	Mail Experiment 3, p. 37
Proj. 4: Site-based Message	CCC site-based canvass research on c3 vs. c4 messaging	Site Experiment 1, p. 73
Proj. 5: Email and Text Messaging for Movers	RTVAF email research to movers from their own data.	Email Experiment 1, p. 48
	RTVAF research on movers with email addresses from purchased lists.	Email Experiment 2, p. 51
Proj. 6: Canvass and Mail	Multi-organizational research on complimentary effects of mail and canvass outreach	Canvass Experiment 1, p. 80
Proj. 7: Email Experiments	RTVAF research on non-registered voters with email addresses from purchased list	Email Experiment 3, p. 55 Email Experiment 4, p. 59
Proj. 8: Web-based	RTVAF research on targeted banner ads	Banner Ad Experiment 1, p. 63 Banner Ad Experiment 2, p. 67
	Democracia research on targeted banner ads	Unusable, see Methods & Notes

Appendix B: Scripts for Site-Based Registration

C4 Script:

Hi I'm with Colorado Progressive Action, when was the last time you registered to vote?
Has anything changed since then, address, party affiliation, name?
(if yes or non-registered) Then you need to (re-)register, here is the form, only takes a minute!
(hand over clipboard)
Democrats are working hard to improve Latino communities. Together we can pass true health care reform, improve our schools, and create more opportunities for our hard working families.
(after they complete form)
Great, just give me one second to make sure everything is right and get you your receipt. Here you go, and here is some info about Colorado Progressive Action, our members meet every third Thursday of the month and you're welcome to come.

C3 Script

Hi, we are helping people update their voter registrations for the election, when was the last time you registered to vote?
Has anything changed since then, address, party affiliation, name?
(if yes or non-registered) Then you need to (re-)register, here is the form, only takes a minute!
(hand over clipboard)
Join your fellow Americans in registering to vote in the upcoming elections!
(after they complete form)
Great, just give me one second to make sure everything is right and get you your receipt. We'll turn this in for you and the county clerk will get you something in the mail in a couple weeks.

Appendix C: Text of Progressivity Survey

Atlantic Philanthropies Hispanic Voter Registration
18Q Live ID

Start Date: 4/4/2010

[OPENING] Hello, may I please speak with **(NAME FROM FILE)**? I am calling from _____. We are interviewing Hispanic voters in the United States about some important issues. I assure you that we are not selling anything and that the interview will only take a few minutes. Your responses will remain strictly confidential. **(IF RESPONDENT, CONTINUE) (IF NOT, SCHEDULE CALLBACK WITH NAME FROM FILE)**

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS IN SPANISH, CONTINUE IN SPANISH]

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS IN ENGLISH, ASK "Would you prefer to continue this survey in Spanish or English?"]

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
1 = Spanish
2 = English
3 = Does not matter/Other

[Q1] Please tell us your top three national issues that are most important to you and your family. (AFL-CIO/DEMOCRACIA/BENDIXEN)

[CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY]
[RANDOMIZE]
1 = Health care **[GO TO Q2]**
2 = Immigration **[GO TO Q2]**
3 = Education **[GO TO Q2]**
4 = Economy **[GO TO Q2]**
5 = Job creation **[GO TO Q2]**
6 = Housing and foreclosures **[GO TO Q2]**
7 = Discrimination **[GO TO Q2]**
8 = Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan **[GO TO Q2]**
9 = Taxes **[GO TO Q2]**
10 = Government deficits **[GO TO Q2]**
11 = Social Security **[GO TO Q2]**
12 = Medicare **[GO TO Q2]**
13 = Clean energy **[GO TO Q2]**
14 = Drug trafficking and gangs **[GO TO Q2]**
15 = Terrorism and national security **[GO TO Q2]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
16 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q2]**
17 = Refused to say **[GO TO CLOSING]**
18 = Does not want to take the survey **[GO TO CLOSING]**

[Q2] First, do you think the government should have a strong role or a weak role when it comes to economic issues and creating new jobs? (BENDIXEN)

1 = Strong role **[GO TO Q3]**
2 = Weak role **[GO TO Q3]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know [**GO TO Q3]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q3]**

[Q3] Do you think that the United States should have a health care plan administered primarily by the government that gives all Americans access to quality health care, or do you think that our current private health care system run primarily by insurance companies functions fairly well for most people? (BENDIXEN)

1 = Health care plan administered primarily by the government **[GO TO Q4]**
2 = Current private health care system functions fairly well **[GO TO Q4]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q4]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q4]**

[Q4] There are an estimated 12 million undocumented immigrants residing in the United States today. Do you think it would be best to force most of them to leave the country, or do you think it would be best to give most of them a path to citizenship? (BENDIXEN/DEMOCRACIA)

1 = Force to leave **[GO TO Q5]**
2 = Path to citizenship **[GO TO Q5]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q5]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q5]**

[Q5] Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are costing us too much. We would be better off bringing our troops home and using the money here in the U.S. (PROJECT NEW WEST/ANALYST INSTITUTE/DEMOCRACIA)

1 = Agree **[GO TO Q6]**
2 = Disagree **[GO TO Q6]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q6]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q6]**

[Q6] In a difficult economic environment, who should be most responsible for helping people in a tough financial situation, the government or private charities? (BENDIXEN/DEMOCRACIA)

1 = Government **[GO TO Q7]**
2 = Private charities **[GO TO Q7]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q7]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q7]**

[Q7] Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The government should fully fund public schools, community colleges, and universities, even if it means raising taxes. (AFL-CIO/ANALYST INSTITUTE/BENDIXEN)

1 = Support **[GO TO Q8]**
2 = Do not support **[GO TO Q8]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q8]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q8]**

[Q8] Which of the following statements is closer to your own opinion? Statement A: Global warming is an environmental problem that is causing a serious impact now. Statement B: The impact of global warming won't happen until sometime in the future. Statement C: Global warming won't have a serious impact at all. (CBS/NEW YORK TIMES/BENDIXEN)

1 = A: Serious impact now **[GO TO Q9]**
2 = B: Impact in the future **[GO TO Q9]**
3 = C: Won't have a serious impact **[GO TO Q9]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
4 = Global warming does not exist **[GO TO Q9]**
5 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q9]**
6 = Refused to say **[GO TO Q9]**

[Q9] Do you support or oppose allowing same sex or gay couples to legally marry? (BENDIXEN)

1 = Support **[GO TO Q10]**
2 = Oppose **[GO TO Q10]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q10]**
4= Refused to say **[GO TO Q10]**

[Q10] Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, that abortion should be legal only in some special cases, or that abortion should be illegal in all cases? (BENDIXEN)

1 = Legal in all cases **[GO TO Q11]**
2 = Legal only in special cases **[GO TO Q11]**
3 = Illegal in all cases **[GO TO Q11]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
4 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q11]**
5= Refused to say **[GO TO Q11]**

[Q11] Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are **(ROTATE LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE, WITH MODERATE ALWAYS IN THE MIDDLE)** Conservative, Moderate, Liberal, or that you do not have a political ideology? (PROJECT NEW WEST/BENDIXEN)

1 = Liberal **[GO TO Q12]**
2 = Moderate **[GO TO Q12]**
3 = Conservative **[GO TO Q12]**
4 = Do not have a political ideology **[GO TO Q12]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
4 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q12]**
5 = Refused to say **[GO TO Q12]**

Now, for statistical purposes I would like to ask a couple of demographic questions.

[Q12] The media in the United States generally classifies people by the following categories. Which do you consider yourself to be? (BENDIXEN)

1 = White **[GO TO Q16]**
2 = African-American or Black **[GO TO Q16]**
3 = Hispanic or Latino **[GO TO Q13]**

4 = Native American **[GO TO Q13]**
5 = Asian **[GO TO Q16]**
6 = Other **[GO TO Q16]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
7 = Undecided/Does not know **[GO TO Q16]**
8= Refused to say **[GO TO Q16]**

[Q13] In what country were you born? (BENDIXEN)

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
1 = United States **[GO TO Q14]**
2 = Mexico **[GO TO Q14]**
3 = Cuba **[GO TO Q14]**
4 = Puerto Rico **[GO TO Q14]**
5 = Dominican Republic **[GO TO Q14]**
6 = Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama) **[GO TO Q14]**
7 = South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Chile) **[GO TO Q14]**
8 = Other _____ **[RECORD RESPONSE] [GO TO Q14]**
9 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q14]**

[Q14] In what country were your parents born? (BENDIXEN/ANALYST INSTITUTE)

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
[CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY]
1 = United States **[GO TO Q15]**
2 = Mexico **[GO TO Q15]**
3 = Cuba **[GO TO Q15]**
4 = Puerto Rico **[GO TO Q15]**
5 = Dominican Republic **[GO TO Q15]**
6 = Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama) **[GO TO Q15]**
7 = South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Chile) **[GO TO Q15]**
8 = Other _____ **[RECORD RESPONSE] [GO TO Q15]**
9 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q15]**

[Q15] What about your grandparents? In what country were they born? (BENDIXEN/ANALYST INSTITUTE)

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
[CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY]

1 = United States **[GO TO Q16]**
2 = Mexico **[GO TO Q16]**
3 = Cuba **[GO TO Q16]**
4 = Puerto Rico **[GO TO Q16]**
5 = Dominican Republic **[GO TO Q16]**
6 = Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama) **[GO TO Q16]**
7 = South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Chile) **[GO TO Q16]**
8 = Other _____ **[RECORD RESPONSE] [GO TO Q16]**
9 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q16]**

[Q16] What is the last year of schooling that you have completed? (PROJECT NEW WEST/DEMOCRACIA)

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
1 = Grade school **[GO TO Q17]**
2 = High school graduate **[GO TO Q17]**
3 = Technical school **[GO TO Q17]**
4 = Some college **[GO TO Q17]**
5 = College graduate **[GO TO Q17]**
6 = Post-graduate school **[GO TO Q17]**
7 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q17]**

[Q17] Thinking about all the phone calls you receive, do you receive more calls on your cell phone, more calls on your regular home phone, or is it about equal? (PEW)

1 = More on cell phone **[GO TO Q18]**
2 = More on home phone **[GO TO Q18]**
3 = About equal **[GO TO Q18]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
4 = Does not have a cell phone **[GO TO Q18]**
5 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q18]**

[Q18] In November of this year, there will be elections for the United States Congress and for many state and local offices. How closely are you following these elections – very closely, somewhat closely, or not at all? (BENDIXEN)

1 = Very closely **[GO TO Q19]**
2 = Somewhat closely **[GO TO Q19]**
3 = Not at all **[GO TO Q19]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
3 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q19]**

[Q19] Thinking about the election for Congress in the November, if the election were held today would you vote for (AFL-CIO/ANALYST INSTITUTE)

1 = Democratic candidate **[GO TO Q20]**
2 = Republican candidate **[GO TO Q20]**
3 = Undecided **[GO TO Q20]**

[CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ]
4 = Some other candidate **[GO TO Q20]**
5 = Does not know/Refused to say **[GO TO Q20]**

[Q20] Now, in what year were you born?

_____

[CLOSING] Thanks for your time. **[END CALL]**

[Q21] [CODE FOR BUT DO NOT READ] Respondent's gender:
1 = Female
2 = Male

Appendix D: Full Results of Progressivity Survey

Question	C(3) *N=44*	C(4) *N=57*
Would you prefer to continue this survey in Spanish or English?		
Spanish	1	6
English	43	51
Please tell us your top three national issues that are most important to you and your family.		
Health care	16	16
Immigration	3	12
Education	6	6
Economy	12	11
Job creation	13	16
Housing and foreclosures	4	5
Discrimination	1	2
Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	2	6
Taxes	2	4
Government deficits	0	2
Social Security	2	1
Medicare	1	3
Clean energy	10	7
Drug trafficking and gangs	1	0
Terrorism and national security	3	3
Undecided	4	10
Should the government have a strong role or weak role when it comes to economic issues and creating new jobs?		
Strong role	38	43
Weak role	5	11
Undecided	1	3
Should the U.S. have a health care plan run primarily by the government, or does our current private insurance system work well?		
Health care plan administered primarily by the government	29	33
Current private health care system	10	18
Undecided	5	6
Should undocumented immigrants be forced to leave the country, or given a path to citizenship?		
Force to leave	9	9
Path to Citizenship	28	41
Undecided	7	7
The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are costing us too much. We would be better off bringing our troops home and using the money here in the U.S.		
Agree	32	47
Disagree	8	6
Undecided	4	4
In a tough economy, who should be most responsible for helping people in a rough financial situation, the government or private charities?		
Government	36	46
Private charities	4	7
Undecided	4	4
The government should fully fund public schools, community colleges, and		

universities, even if it means raising taxes.		
Agree	31	40
Disagree	10	14
Undecided	3	3
Global warming is an environmental problem that is causing a serious impact now, the impact of global warming won't happen until sometime in the future, or global warming won't have a serious impact at all.		
Serious Impact Now	29	35
Impact in the future	10	15
Won't have a serious impact	3	4
Global warming does not exist	0	3
Undecided	2	0
Do you support or oppose allowing same sex or gay couples to legally marry?		
Support	28	26
Oppose	16	29
Undecided	0	2
Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, that abortion should be legal only in some special cases, or that abortion should be illegal in all cases?		
Legal All Cases	12	15
Legal only in special cases	25	29
Illegal in all cases	5	13
Undecided	2	0
Think in political terms, would you say that you are…		
Liberal	7	8
Moderate	5	7
Conservative	10	8
No Political Ideology	22	34
The media in the United States generally classifies people by the following categories.Which do you consider yourself to be?		
White	15	10
African-American or Black	14	18
Hispanic or Latino	9	20
Native American	0	2
Asian	0	1
Other	5	4
Refused to say	1	2
In what country were you born?		
United States	7	17
Mexico	2	3
Cuba	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	1
Dominican Republic	0	1
Central America	0	0
South America	0	0
In what country were your parents born?		
United States	6	13
Mexico	3	9
Cuba	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	1
Dominican Republic	0	0
Central America	0	2

South America	0	0
What about your grandparents? In what country were they born?		
United States	6	8
Mexico	3	9
Cuba	0	1
Puerto Rico	0	1
Dominican Republic	0	0
Central America	0	2
South America	0	0
What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?		
Grade school	6	13
High school graduate	17	19
Technical school	1	1
Some college	12	17
College graduate	8	6
Post-graduate school	0	0
Refused to say	0	1
Thinking about all the phone calls you receive, do you receive more calls on your cell phone, more calls on your regular home phone, or is it about equal?		
More on cell phone	34	42
More on home phone	8	9
About equal	2	5
Does not know	0	1
In November of this year, there will be elections for the United States Congress and for many state and local offices. How closely are you following these elections - very closely, somewhat closely, or not at all?		
Very closely	8	6
Somewhat closely	14	35
Not at all	22	14
Does not know	0	2
If the election were held today, would you vote for…		
Democrat	17	30
Republican	7	8
Undecided	20	20
Now, in what year were you born?		
Average	1979	1975
Respondent's gender		
Female	24	29
Male	20	28

Appendix E: Examples of Email Conditions

High Registrations Social Norms (Celebrity Sender)

Dear Jonathan:

Did you know that 2.4 million Hispanic citizens ages 18 to 29 voted in 2008? Our numbers will be even bigger in 2010 because of you.

If you have moved since you last registered or have never registered before, you need to register today. Registering to vote is easy. No need to go to an office or wait in line. Just click here.

In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, we have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Pitbull
for the Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Low Registrations Social Norms (Celebrity Sender)

Dear Jonathan:

Did you know that only half of all Hispanic citizens ages 18 to 29 are registered to vote? That's not good enough.

Be sure you fill out a voter registration application here and mail in your form, so you can vote in the upcoming elections.

In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, we have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Pitbull
for the Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Celebrity Hispanic Identity

ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

Dear Jonathan:

As Hispanics and as citizens, we have the right to vote to change our country. But you can't vote unless you are registered.

Be sure you fill out a voter registration application here and mail in your form, so you can vote in the upcoming elections.

In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, Hispanic-Americans have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Pitbull
Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Celebrity American Identity

ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

Dear Jonathan:

As Americans, we have the right to vote to change our country. But you can't vote unless you are registered.

According to our records, you've moved. When you move, you need to re-register to vote. Re-registering to vote is easy. No need to go to an office or wait in line. Just click here.

In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, we have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Pitbull
Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

High Registrations Social Norms (Non-Celebrity Sender)

ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

Dear Jonathan:

Did you know that 2.4 million Hispanic citizens ages 18 to 29 voted in 2008? Our numbers will be even bigger in 2010 because of you.

Be sure you fill out a voter registration application here and mail in your form, so you can vote in the upcoming elections.

In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, we have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Heather Smith
Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Low Registrations Social Norms (Non-Celebrity Sender)

ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

Dear Jonathan:

Did you know that only half of all Hispanic citizens ages 18 to 29 are registered to vote? That's not good enough.

If you have moved since you last registered or have never registered before, you need to register today. Registering to vote is easy. No need to go to an office or wait in line. Just click here.

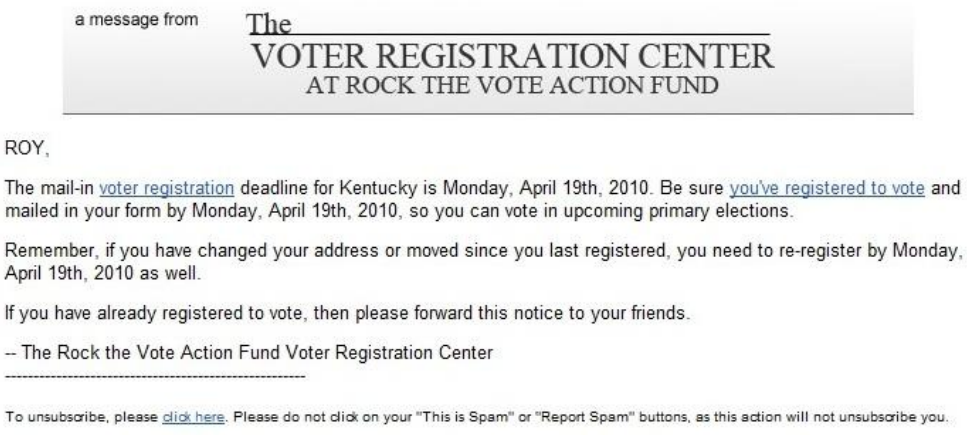
In every part of the country there are important elections this year. These elections will determine who is making decisions about our future. If we want politicians to listen to us, we have to vote.

Make your voice heard,

Heather Smith
Rock the Vote Action Fund

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Neutral Deadline


a message from The VOTER REGISTRATION CENTER AT ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

ROY,

The mail-in voter registration deadline for Kentucky is Monday, April 19th, 2010. Be sure you've registered to vote and mailed in your form by Monday, April 19th, 2010, so you can vote in upcoming primary elections.

Remember, if you have changed your address or moved since you last registered, you need to re-register by Monday, April 19th, 2010 as well.

If you have already registered to vote, then please forward this notice to your friends.

-- The Rock the Vote Action Fund Voter Registration Center

To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Neutral Non-Deadline


a message from The VOTER REGISTRATION CENTER AT ROCK THE VOTE ACTION FUND

REGISTER AND MAIL IN YOUR FORM TODAY

Jonathan:

If you have never registered to vote before or have moved since you last registered, you need to register today. Registering to vote is easy. No need to go to an office or wait in line. Just click here .

Be sure you fill out a voter registration application here and mail in your form, so you can vote in the upcoming elections.

If you have already registered to vote, then please forward this notice to your friends.

-- The Rock the Vote Action Fund Voter Registration Center

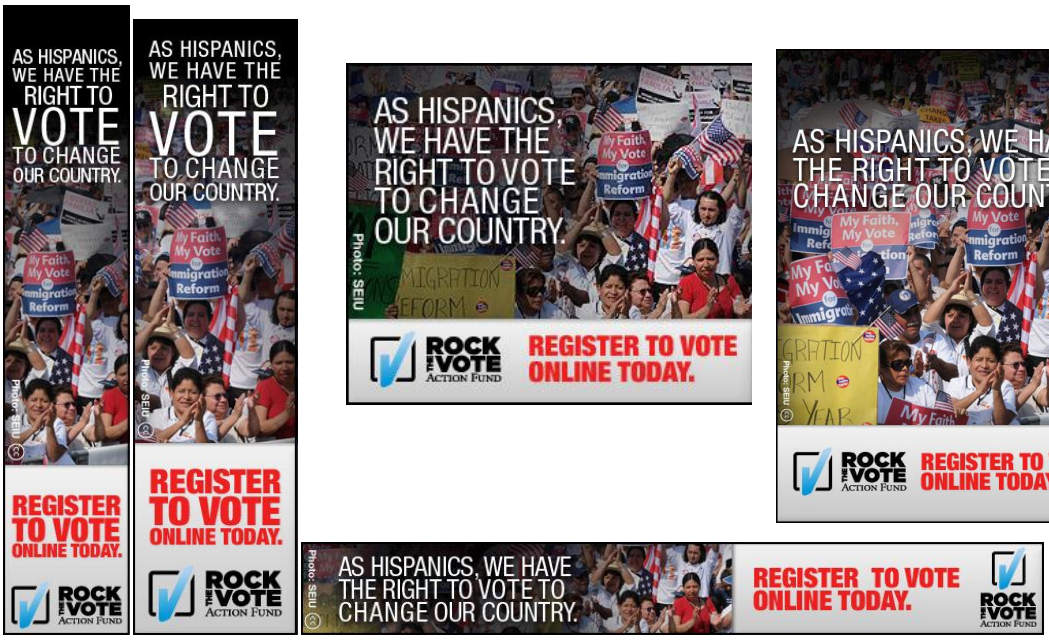
To unsubscribe, please click here. Please do not click on your "This is Spam" or "Report Spam" buttons, as this action will not unsubscribe you.

Appendix F: Examples of Banner Ad Conditions

Celebrity Hispanic Identity

Celebrity American Identity

Hispanic Identity

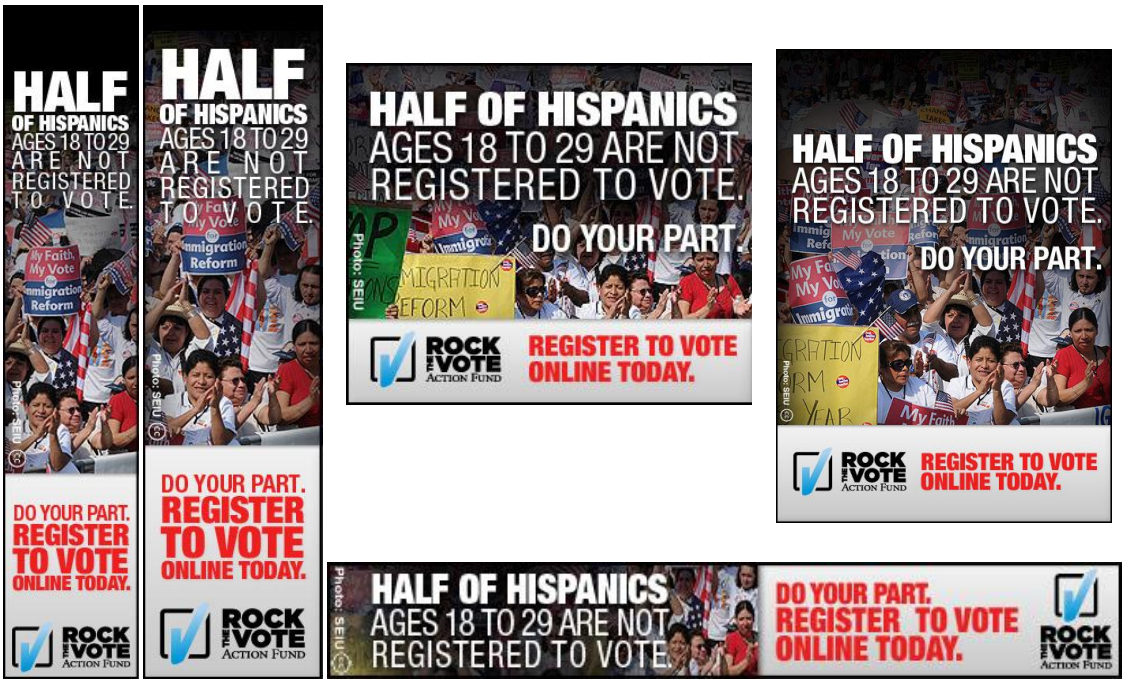


American Identity

Neutral

High Registration Social Norms

Low Registration Social Norms



Appendix G: Script for Door to Door Canvass

Hi, I am _____ with (Colorado Progressive Action/Democracia Ahora), the local community group. We are visiting our neighbors today to make sure everyone is registered to vote for the important election this year that's coming up soon.

When was the last time you registered to vote?

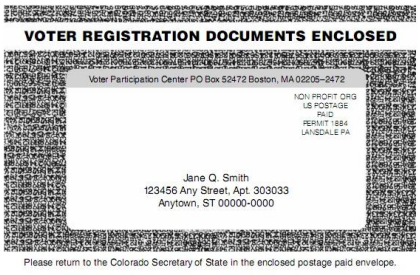
Great, we can get you registered (update your registration) right now. It's easy and only takes a minute.

Is there anyone else in the house who is eligible and needs to register to vote?

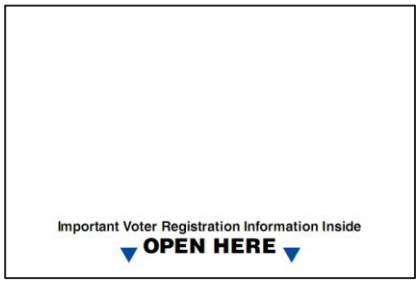
Great, thanks for your time.

Appendix H: Examples of Mail Conditions

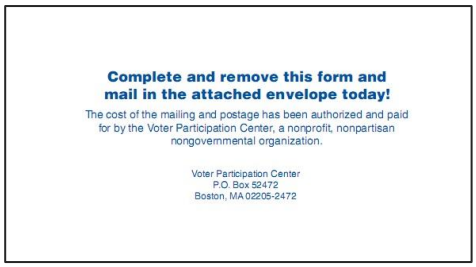
Neutral (Non-Registered)



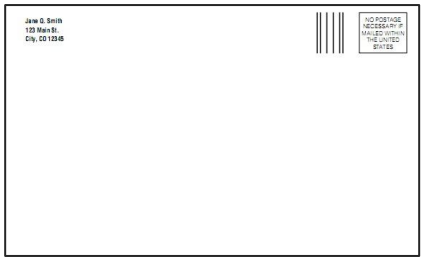
Panel 1



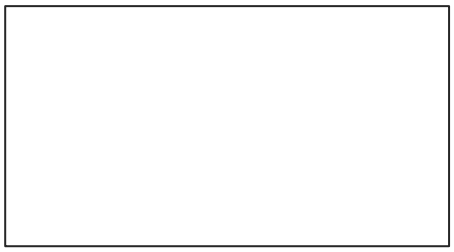
Panel 2



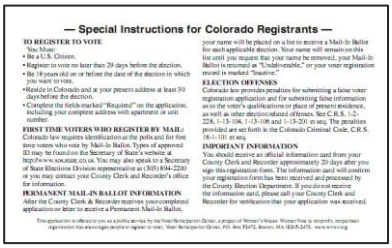
Panel 3



Panel 4

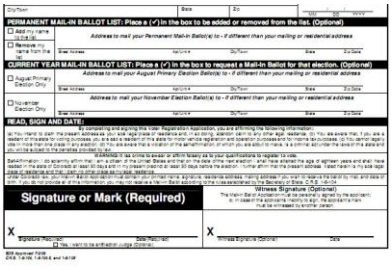


Panel 5



Panel 6

Panel 7



Panel 8

The following examples list variations for non-registered targets that are the same as above, except for Panel 3.

American Identity

Hispanic Identity

Pro-Democrat

Anti-Republican

High Registrations Social Norms

Low Registrations Social Norms

Neutral (Democracia)

Immigration Reform (Democracia)

The following examples list variations for mover targets that are the same as above, except for Panel 3.

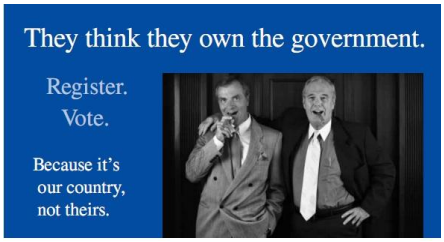
High Registrations Social Norms

Neutral

Convenience

Time for Change

Anger



One of the conditions for the mover targets replaced Panel 1 with the following: